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## APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*II.—Statement showing the division of State share in kind in maunds of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Tehsil of Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from the 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Number. | |
| | | | Name of Village. | |
| | | | Name of Lumberdar. | |
| | | | Name of Well. | |
| | | | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | |
| | | | Names of Kussoor Khars. | |
| | | | Name of Cultivator. | |
| | | | Date on which the shares were divided. | |
| | | | Rate of buttai. | |
| | | | What sort of Grain. | |
| M. | S. | C. | Total quantity of the produce of the Well. | |
| 163 | 16 | 13 | | |
| 123 | 0 | 13¼ | Share of the owner. | |
| 40 | 15 | 15½ | State share. | |
| 4 | 2 | 13 | Khurch on the whole produce at 1¼ seer per maund. | Miscellaneous Revenue. |
| 0 | 6 | 5¼ | Onurrut at 4 chittacks per maund. | |
| 0 | 2 | 6 | Iachee at different rates. | |
| 0 | 1 | 0 | Moohussillee at 4 chittacks per maund. | |
| 0 | 2 | 7 | Zubtee of Maroof Khan's share. | |
| 0 | 6 | 0 | One-fifteenth of Kussoor's share. | |
| 0 | 2 | 0 | Choongee on the whole produce at 3 chittacks per maund. | |
| 4 | 22 | 15¼ | Total. | |
| 44 | 38 | 14¾ | Total of proper and Miscellaneous Revenue. | |
| 5 | 27 | 9 | Paid to Kussoor Khars from the State share at different rates. | |
| 39 | 11 | 5¾ | Balance of the State share in store. | |
| This is the actual collections in maunds, that is, on indigo and cotton. | | | Remarks. | |

# APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

## III.—*Statement showing the Jummabundee of Dunkhars of the Paishkaree of Hasilpore in the Tehsil of Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Number. | | |
| | Name of Village. | | |
| | Name of Well, Jhallar, or Sylaba. | | |
| | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | | |
| | Name of Cultivator. | | |
| | Name of Dungoozar. | | |
| | Number of Khusrah Paimaish. | | |
| | What sort of Grain. | | |
| B. 901 B 12½ | Area of Land. | | |
| 33 11½ | Dungoozar's right of 1 biswah per beegah. | Deductions from area of land. | |
| 46 4½ | Kussoor Khar's right. | | |
| 79 16 | Total. | | |
| 821 16½ | Balance of area of land on which the Government dues will be realized. | | |
| ... | Cash. | Rate of Government Tax per Beegah. | |
| ... | Kind. | | |
| Rs. A. P. 140 2 6 | In cash. | Revenue proper. | |
| M. P. T. P. 21 8 3 1 | In kind. | | |
| Rs. A. P. 28 7 6 | Killeebunna fees. | In cash. | Miscellaneous Revenue. |
| M. P. T. P. 0 10 7 3½ | Choongee at 6 Europees per Manee. | | |
| 1 8 1 2 | Kardarce fees | In kind. | |
| 0 35 1 3 | Zubtee fees. | | |
| 1 24 2 2 | Huftdubee fees. | | |
| 0 48 0 1 | Izafa Bhunda at 2 pies per Manee. | | |
| 0 19 2 0 | Beekh. | | |
| 4 46 1 3¼ | Total. | | |
| Rs. A. P. 168 10 0 | Cash. | Total of proper and Miscellaneous Revenue. | |
| M. P. T. P. 26 5 1 0¼ | Kind. | | |
| Rs. A. P. 9 13 0 | Cash. | Paid to Cultivator for cultivating land. | |
| M. P. T. P. 1 21 1 0 | Kind. | | |
| Rs. A. P. 158 12 3 | Cash. | Remaining in hand. | |
| M. P. T. P. 24 34 0 0¼ | Kind. | | |
| Rs A. P. 40 13 9 | Cash. | Add one-fourth to change the account into Ahkedore. | |
| M. P. T. P. 6 8 2 0 | Kind. | | |
| Rs. A. P. 199 10 0 | Cash. | Total of Government share. | |
| M. P. T. P. 30 42 2 6½ | Kind. | | |
| The Dunkhars are the descendants of the original proprietors of the soil prior to Dadputra invasion, who pay a fixed rate in cash and kind on the cultivated area of their estates, which is measured. | Remarks. | | |

# APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*IV.—Statement showing the collections of Dun from the Kunsoor Khars of the Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| Number. | Alphabetical Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Well, Jhallar, or Sylaba. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Name of Dungoozar, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | What sort of Grain. | Area of Land. | Rate of Dun and Miscellaneous Revenue. | | Government Share due. | | Realized. | | Remaining due. | | Surplus Amount. | | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | B. B. 821 16¼ | ... | Kind. | Rs. A. P. 199 10 0 | Kind. | Rs. A. P. 180 3 9 | Kind. | Rs A. P. 19 6 3 | Kind. | ... | Kind. M. P. T. P. 0 3 2 2¼ | |
| | | | | | | | | | | R. P. T. P. 30 42 2 0¼ | | M. P. T. P. 29 47 1 3 | | M. P. T. P. 0 48 2 3¼ | | | | |

# APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*V.—Statement (Wasil bakee) showing the receipts and balances of the Government Dues of the Villages of Paishkaree Hastipore in the Kurdaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| | | |

## APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*VI.—Statement (Khuteonee) showing the names of the Proprietors of different Wells of the Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Well, Jhallar, or Sylaba. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Name of Cultivator. | Numbers of Khusrah. | Area of Land. | Deduction of Land according to Putta. | Area of Land assessable. | Rate of Assessment. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | B. B.<br>1,743 14½ | B. B.<br>1,575 3½ | B. B.<br>168 11 | ... | This is a Statement of extra land attached to istumrareewells cultivated beyond the amount allowed by the puttas. |

*VII.—Statement (Jummabundee Asameewar) showing the Cash Collections, together with the names of the Proprietors, of the Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Number of Khuteonee. | Name of Village, together with boundaries. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Number of Shares. | Area of Cultivated Land. | Rate of Assessment. | Amount in Bhawulporee Rupees. | Add one-fourth to change the account into Ahmedporee Rupees. | Total. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | B. B.<br>168 11 | ... | Rs. A. P.<br>378 7 0 | 96 15 3 | 475 6 3 | This is the account of the State demand assessed on the extra cultivation, as shown in Statement No. VI. |

## APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*VIII.—Statement (Wasil-bakee Nugd) showing the Collections and Balances in Cash of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Lumberdar. | Name of Proprietor. | Government Dues. | Amount realized. | Balance. | Surplus Amount. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Rs. A. P.<br>475 6 3 | Rs. A. P<br>456 4 3 | Rs. A. P.<br>19 2 0 | . | This is the Statement of Collections, as shown in Statements Nos. VI and VII. |

*IX.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee) of Istumraree Wells of Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| Number. | Alphabetical Number. | Name of Village, with number of Register of boundaries. | Name of Lumberdar. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | ANNUAL JUMMA OR GOVERNMENT DUES IN AHMEDPOREE RUPEES. | | | AMOUNT DUE TO STATE. | | | AMOUNT REALIZED. | | | Amount realized on account of kists. | Balance due to the State. | Surplus Amount received erroneously. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Khureef | Rubbee. | Total. | Balance of the last Harvest. | Present Harvest. | Total. | Surplus Amount received at the last Harvest | Received in the present Harvest. | Total. | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | Rs. A. P.<br>1,588 13 3 | 1,588 13 3 | .. | 1,489 0 0 | 1,489 0 0 | 1,489 0 0 | 99 13 3 | ... | This Statement shows the demand on wells granted on istumraree tenure, *i. e.*, a fixed lease. |

APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*X.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Tuhreer) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Towzee No. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount due to the State. | Amount realized. | Balance remaining due. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | |
| | | | | | 42 9 3 | 41 15 3 | 0 10 0 | This is an extra cess on istumraree tenures for cost of writing, averaging 10 annas per well. |

*XI.—Statement (Nuksha Jurreeb) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Towzee No. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount due to the State. | Amount realized. | Balance remaining due. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | |
| | | | | | 520 7 3 | 496 9 0 | 24 14 3 | A cess on certain istumraree tenures, varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 5, to cover the costs of measurements. |

APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*XII.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Towfeer Mamoola) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Towzee No. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount due to the State. | Amount realized. | Balance remaining due. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | | |
| | | | | | 172 14 9 | 172 14 9 | ..... | A fixed demand assessed on certain istumraree wells in lieu of the State demand; an extra cultivation as in Statement No. VI. These wells are consequently not measured. |

*XIII.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Abiana) of the Istumraree Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Towzee No. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount due to the State. | Amount realized. | Balance remaining due. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P | Rs. A. P. | |
| | | | | | 222 8 6 | 214 15 9 | 7 8 9 | A fixed demand on certain istumraree tenures if they take canal water. |

## APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*XIV.—Statement (Nuksha Towzee Beek Moohuslee) of the Wells of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Towzee No. | Name of Lumberdar. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount of Beek Moohuslee on Jowar | | | Quantity of Grain realized. | Remaining due. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Quantity in Bhawulpore current weight. | Increase according to Ahmedpore weight. | Total. | | | |
| | | | | | | M. P. T. P. | M. P. T. P. | M. P. T. P. | M P. T. P. | M. P. T. P. | |
| | | | | | | 0 27 0 2 | 0 6 3 2 | 0 34 1 2 | 0 30 2 2 | 0 3 3 0 | A cess given originally in charity to one of the watchers, from whom it was confiscated, and henceforward included as a portion of the State demand. |

*XV.—Statement (Nuksha Nugdee Mamoolah) of the Villages of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Malgoozar. | Half-yearly State share. | Amount realized. | Amount remaining due. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Rs. A P | Rs. A P. | Rs. A. P. | |
| | | | 75 6 9 | 47 7 9 | 27 15 0 | A fixed demand in cash in addition to the State share of the produce. |

## APPENDIX I,—*continued.*

*XVI.—tatement (Nuksha Towzee Ijara Dhurrut) of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Contructor, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Annual Jumma. | Amount of Dhurrut Cases. | | | Amount realized. | Remaining due. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | In Bhawulporee Rupees. | Increase according to Ahmedporee Rupees. | Total. | | | |
| | | | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | Rs. A. P. | |
| | | | 138 1 0 | 110 0 0 | 28 1 0 | 138 1 0 | ..... | 138 1 0 | This is the amount paid by two Dhurwalis for permission to perform their duties; they receive a share of the produce from the Zemindars |

*XVII.—tatement (Nuksha Towzee Nuzzurana Enam) of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from 1st October 1866 to 31st March 1867.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount of Nuzzurana. | | Amount realized. | | Remaining due. | | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Cash. | Kind. | Cash. | Kind. | Cash. | Kind. | |
| | | | | Rs. A. P. | M. P. T. P. | Rs. A. P. | M. P. T. P. | Rs. A. P. | M. P. T. P. | |
| | | | | 3 12 6 | 0 1 3 2 | 2 8 3 | ..... | 1 4 3 | 0 1 3 2 | Statement of Nuzzurana paidy parties who hold estates in Enam. |

APPENDIX I,—*concluded.*

*XVIII$_5$—Statement (Nuksha Nuzzurana Tuhreer Putta) of the Hasilpore Paishkaree in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest commencing from* 1*st October* 1866 *to* 31*st March* 1867.

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste, and Residence. | Amount of Putta fees. | Realized. | Remaining due. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Rs. A. P.<br>10 0 9 | ..... | Rs. A. P.<br>10 0 9 | A fee levied on writing puttas for Istumraree or Enam tenures. |

*Statement (Nuksha Khusrah Paimash) of the Paishkaree Hasilpore in the Kardaree Khyrpore for the Khureef Harvest.*

| Number. | Name of Village. | Name of Well. | Name of Owner, Parentage, Caste. | Name of Cultivator, Parentage, &c. | East and West Average. | South and North Average. | Area of land. | Deductions on account of Waste Land. | Remaining to be assessed. | Description of land. | What sort of Grain. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | B. B.<br>168 11 | ... | B. B.<br>168 11 | | | |

# APPENDIX II.

*Statement of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State.*

| Number | Name. | Occupation. | Localities. From | Localities. To | Date. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mahomed ... | Weaver ... | Bhawulpore. | Patt Puttun... | 15th Aug. 1864. |
| | Azeem ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 11th Feb. 1861. |
| | Golamoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th March 1866. |
| | Kewul Mull ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th April 1865. |
| 5 | Alla Bux ... ... | Goldsmith ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 7th Oct. 1865. |
| | Abdool Kurreem .. | Nukad ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 9th Sept. 1864. |
| | Kalla ... ... | Blacksmith ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 10th Oct. 1860. |
| | Nwosa ... ... | Carpenter ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 11th March 1852. |
| | Golam Mahomed ... | Blacksmith.. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 13th Nov. 1857. |
| 10 | Tugga ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Sept. 1861. |
| | Talloa ... ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 17th Dec. 1857. |
| | Jetha ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 21st Jan. 1861. |
| | Himta ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 2nd March 1863. |
| | Mukna Mull ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 21st Jan. 1867. |
| 15 | Beroo Mull ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 23rd Sept. 1863. |
| | Goolaba and Looroenda | Potters ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th Nov. 1863. |
| | Ghunnoo ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 8th ,, 1862. |
| | Issur ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, .. | 11th Dec. 1864. |
| | Assoo Mull ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 17th Feb. 1862. |
| 20 | Mohundoss ... | ,, | ,, ... | Adamwaha ... | 19th Jan. 1855. |
| | Boodhoo ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 17th April 1850. |
| | Dhumna Mull ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th Oct. 1854. |
| | Toolsa ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 24th July 1859. |
| | Remull ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th June 1858. |
| 25 | Khewa ... ... | ,, | ,, ... | Adumwaha... | 24th May 1857. |
| | Hyat ... ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 27th July 1862. |
| | Assa Mull ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 29th March 1864. |
| | Jumnoo Mull ... | ,, | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 17th Dec. 1862. |
| | Pulla ... ... | Painter ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Jan. 1861. |
| 30 | Roshun ... ... | Goldsmith ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 21st Oct. 1861. |
| | Korra ... ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 28th March 1861. |
| | Tossun .. ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th Feb. 1863. |
| | Seetul Mull and Ranoo | Dullal ... | ,, ... | Kot Nijabut.. | 29th ,, 1855. |
| | Ramoo ... ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 11th Dec. 1855. |
| 35 | Dhuna Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Shoojabad ... | 9th July 1857. |
| | Milkain ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 17th March 1861. |
| | Ruheem Bux ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th Sept. 1861. |
| | Kurreem Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th Nov. 1860. |
| | Mostkeem and Peera. | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 28th July 1861. |
| 40 | Mahomed Bux ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th April 1864. |
| | Yarun ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th Nov. 1865. |
| | Waris ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 26th Jan. 1865. |
| | Waris ... ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Aug. 1865. |
| | Jakmee Mull ... | Dullal ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Oct. 1859. |
| 45 | Munga Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Feb. 1867. |
| | Gopalla ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 22nd March 1859. |
| | Khooshea Ram and Girdaree ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 28th June 1867. |
| | Lalloo Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 14th March 1860. |
| | Ruheem ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 24th May 1864. |
| 50 | Mahomed Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Sept. 1860. |
| | Rumzoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 11th Oct. 1862. |
| | Wulloo ... .. | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 9th Nov. 1862. |
| | Gamoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 10th Dec. 1860. |
| | Rumzan Ali ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 7th Jan. 1861. |
| 55 | Mosstqueem ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 5th June 1857. |
| | Mahomed... ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 3rd May 1859. |
| | Kadoo .. ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 2nd Nov. 1858. |
| | Ahmud Bux ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 13th July 1856. |
| | Niamta ... ... | Shopkeeper ... | ,, ... | Mylsee ... | 18th Nov. 1862. |
| 60 | Allabux ... ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 21st Feb. 1864. |
| | Ahmed ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | Kenore ... | 27th Oct. 1859. |
| | Korra ... ... | Goldsmith ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 24th June 1865. |
| | Khema Mull ... | Shopkeeper ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 23th Dec. 1867. |
| 64 | Nuwah ... ... | Service ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 26th July 1856. |

## APPENDIX II,—*continued.*

*Statement of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State,*—continued.

| Number. | Name. | Occupation. | Localities. From | Localities. To | Date. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 65 | Noorun ... | Brickmaker... | Bhawulpore | Mooltan ... | 16th Oct. 1859. |
| | Ramoo ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 3rd Sept. 1858. |
| | Azeem ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 9th June 1860. |
| | Alli ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Jan. 1856. |
| | Khyr Mahomed | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th Nov. 1861. |
| 70 | Golam Russool | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 4th Oct. 1862. |
| | Nujuff ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Jan. 1861. |
| | Buksoo ... | Blacksmith... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 23rd March 1860 |
| | Golam Russool | Weaver ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 29th April 1862. |
| | Peerun ... | Brickmaker... | ,, ... | Shoojabad ... | 2nd Aug. 1857. |
| 75 | Mahamdoo | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 7th Nov. 1859. |
| | Issa ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Kenore ... | 4th Feb. 1860. |
| | Sooltan ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Jogeewalla . | 15th July 1858. |
| | Jahana ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | Kenore ... | 19th Feb. 1852. |
| | Kurrum ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Jalla Rain ... | 27th April 1863. |
| 80 | Kubool ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 4th Oct. 1859. |
| | Ahmud Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Jan. 1864. |
| | Noorun ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 14th Dec. 1861. |
| | Golam Hussun | ,, .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th June 1861. |
| | Kalloo ... | Carpenter ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th Sept. 1858. |
| 85 | Noorun ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 24th July 1856. |
| | Azeezoo ... | Reshum Phera | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th April 1861. |
| | Wulloo ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th June 1859. |
| | Juma ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 15th March 1856. |
| | Suttar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th Oct. 1860. |
| 90 | Mahomed Bux | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Sept. 1860. |
| | Golam Russool | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th July 1859. |
| | ,, Kader | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 10th Feb. 1858. |
| | Noorun ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 11th Jan. 1861. |
| | Mahomed | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th Nov. 1863. |
| 95 | Mahomed Bux | Tailor ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th June. 1860. |
| | Mahomed Moorad | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 23rd Oct. 1859. |
| | Wallee Mahomed | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, | 4th March 1861. |
| | Boodhoo... | ,, .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th Nov. 1851. |
| | Chuttoo ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th July 1858. |
| 100 | Alla Bux... | Dyer ... | ,, . | ,, ... | 21st Sept. 1863. |
| | Ahmud ... | Reshum Phera | ,, .. | ,, ... | 26th Nov. 1860. |
| | Rumzan ... | Dubgar ... | ,, ... | Khyrpore, Mooz-zuffergurh. | 11th Oct. 1861. |
| | Alla Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mylsee ... | 17th June 1858. |
| | Koodrutoola | ,, ... | ,, .. | Shoojabad ... | 25th Dec. 1863. |
| 105 | Golam Russool | Weaver ... | ,, ... | Mooltan .. | 4th Feb. 1859. |
| | Khumeesa | Kunjur ... | ,, ... | Lodhran .. | 15th April 1850. |
| | Eeda ... | Weaver ... | ,, .. | Mooltan .. | 16th June 1860. |
| | Mahomed Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 15th April 1861. |
| | Alli ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 23rd Nov. 1855. |
| 110 | Wabid Bux | Carpenter ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 18th May 1861. |
| | Walli Mahomed | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 21st Jan. 1860. |
| | Abdoolla... | Reshum Phera. | ,, ... | ,, .. | 12th June 1857. |
| | Alla Rukha | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 22nd March 1858. |
| | Kadir Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 3rd May 1860. |
| 115 | Kadir Bux | Rufoogur .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th Nov. 1863. |
| | Futtoo ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th April 1861. |
| | Bukshan ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 21st May 1859. |
| | Sharoo .. | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 16th Oct. 1858. |
| | Golam Kadir | Weaver ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 20th Dec. 1860. |
| 120 | Mahomed Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 24th April 1855. |
| | Kurrum ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th Nov. 1857. |
| | Abdoolla | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, .. | 25th Oct. 1860. |
| | Jooma .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 3rd June 1859. |
| | Guffoor ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 17th April 1861. |
| 125 | Golam ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th Sept. 1862. |
| | Golam Kadir | ,, .. | ,, .. | ,, .. | 12th Feb. 1860. |
| | Mahomed Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, . | 19th July 1858. |
| | Kadir Bux | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 25th Dec. 1856. |
| 129 | Allayar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 21st June 1861. |

## APPENDIX II,—*continued.*

*Statement of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State,*—continued.

| Number. | Name. | Occupation. | Localities. From | Localities. To | Date. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 130 | Khumeesa ... | Weaver ... | Bhawulpore .. | Mooltan ... | 28th March 1867. |
| | Boola ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th Feb. 1860. |
| | Shurreef ... ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th June 1855. |
| | Golam Moortza ... | Fuller ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 18th April 1859. |
| | Allah Bux ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th Dec. 1861. |
| 135 | Hyder ... ... | Fuller ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th Feb. 1860. |
| | Dhullah Mull ... | Meenakar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th Oct. 1862. |
| | Roshun Mull ... | Goldsmith ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 13th June 1850. |
| | Wulloo Mull ... | Meenakar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Oct. 1866. |
| | Pursotum Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 13th Jan. 1859. |
| 140 | Wassoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Aug. 1863. |
| | Muttra ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th July 1863. |
| | Assa Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 8th Dec. 1862. |
| | Gurdhun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 12th Feb. 1855. |
| | Khooshie ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Oct. 1860. |
| 145 | Khooshie... .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th June 1860. |
| | Koodun Mull ... | Goldsmith ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th March 1861. |
| | Pyara ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th May 1858. |
| | Munga ... ... | Meenakar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Oct. 1860. |
| | Khewa ... ... | Goldsmith ... | ,, ... | Moozuffergurh | 17th Feb. 1861. |
| 150 | Beeroo Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Hyatpore ... | 19th Oct. 1855. |
| | Wussoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 17th April 1859. |
| | Korrora ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th May 1860. |
| | Moolie ... ... | Meenakar ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 24th Oct. 1861. |
| | Dhunnoo Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 29th Nov. 1859. |
| 155 | Looreenda ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 15th March 1855 |
| | Alla Bux ... | Shopkeepor... | ,, ... | Kat Lodhran. | 20th June 1855. |
| | Kalla ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 18th March 1861. |
| | Bunjoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 27th Nov. 1858. |
| | Moola ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th Aug. 1863. |
| 160 | Narain Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 17th Feb. 1861. |
| | Korra ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th March 1862. |
| | Sewa ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th April 1860. |
| | Kadoo ... ... | Carpenter ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 15th June 1855. |
| | Khoda Bux ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th March 1859. |
| 165 | Rumzan ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Oct. 1860. |
| | Alla Bux ... | Laborer ... | ,, ... | Shoojabad ... | 26th June 1861. |
| | Alla Bux ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 23rd Oct. 1860. |
| | Mahomed ... | Carpenter ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 24th Aug. 1862. |
| | Abdool Kureem ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Oct. 1860. |
| 170 | Jewun Ram ... | Service ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th July 1858. |
| | Rumzan ... ... | Dyer ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 24th June 1860. |
| | Alla Bux ... | Fuller ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 15th July 1862. |
| | Kallan ... ... | Beldar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Dec. 1860. |
| | Pulla ... ... | Laborer ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 15th Oct. 1859. |
| 175 | Mahomed Yar ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th Sept. 1858. |
| | Khumeesa ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 25th June 1865. |
| | Luteef ... ... | Carpenter ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th April 1857. |
| | Hyat ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 21st May 1860. |
| | Allao ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th March 1861. |
| 180 | Alla Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 24th June 1858. |
| | Bakir ... ... | Kootanah ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Feb. 1862. |
| | Mahomed ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Jan. 1860. |
| | Jewun ... ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th June 1858. |
| | Hafiz ... ... | Kuteek ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 24th Feb. 1861. |
| 185 | Kurreema ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Sukker ... | 28th March 1860. |
| | Abdool Guffoor ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 25th July 1859. |
| | Ahmud ... ... | Kuteek ... | ,, ... | Soojabad ... | 18th Dec. 1855. |
| | Khallan ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th Jan. 1860. |
| | Walloo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 19th Oct. 1862. |
| 190 | Moojawar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Sukker ... | 15th Dec. 1860. |
| | Bukshan ... | Mochie ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 14th July 1858. |
| | Akil ... ... | Kuteek ... | ,, ... | Soojabad ... | 8th Feb. 1861. |
| | Alla Bux ... | Saddler ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 10th June 1861. |
| 194 | Golam Nubbee ... | Mochie ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Feb. 1858. |

## APPENDIX II,—*continued.*

*Statement of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State,*—continued.

| Number. | Name. | Occupation. | Localities. From | Localities. To | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 195 | Noor ... ... | Mochie ... | Bhawulpore .. | Shoojabad .. | 17th July 1857. |
| | Soohara ... ... | Suraj ... | ,, .. | Mooltan ... | 2[illegible]th Dec. 1859. |
| | Khyrun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 25th Oct. 1861. |
| | Alli ... ... | Dyer ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 19th Jan. 1852. |
| | Moosa ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th July 1859. |
| 200 | Nuthoo ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 24th June 1861. |
| | Hukeem ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 13th Feb. 1863. |
| | Golam Kadir ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th Aug. 1856. |
| | Alla Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th Oct. 1858. |
| | Oomaid Allie ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th June 1859. |
| 205 | Khooda Yar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 27th Dec. 1860. |
| | Jewun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 13th Nov. 1862. |
| | Pyara ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 10th July 1855. |
| | Golam Kadir ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th Jan. 1857. |
| | Golam Hussun ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th Sept. 1860. |
| 210 | Rumzan ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Feb. 1858. |
| | Goordhun ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | Shahjanabad | 14th June 1857. |
| | Nundoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 15th July 1859. |
| | Mujnoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Sorut ... | 18th Aug. 1852. |
| | Wullaya ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan .. | 18th ,, 1854. |
| 215 | Bheri Mull ... | Service ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th July 1862. |
| | Thakuria .. ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Feb. 1860. |
| | Dhunoo Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 14th Aug. 1856. |
| | Thao Mull ... | Hulwai ... | ,, . | Lodhran ... | 17th June 1861. |
| | Nyamta Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Dec. 1862. |
| 220 | Tala Ram ... | Surraf ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th June 1850. |
| | Budda Mull ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Dec. 1862. |
| | Issur Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th March 1863. |
| | Ludha ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Sept. 1864. |
| | Pyara Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 9th July 1851. |
| 225 | Sooba Mull ... | Service ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Aug. 1857. |
| | Chuttoo ... ... | Bekhur .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 19th Oct. 1862. |
| | Oodha ... ... | Shopkeeper. . | ,, .. | ,, ... | 18th Sept. 1860.. |
| | Koodun ... ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | ,, .. | 20th June 1855. |
| | Girdharee ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Aug. 1860. |
| 230 | Lukhoo Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 17th Oct. 1863. |
| | Budhawa ... | Service ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 18th Dec. 1861. |
| | Jessa ... ... | Surraf ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th July 1862. |
| | Futtoo ... ... | Dullal ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 24th Dec. 1851. |
| | Sonoo Mull ... | Moohussil ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th July 1864. |
| 235 | Hukoomut ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th June 1849. |
| | Wassoo Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Moozuffergurh | 19th Oct. 1852. |
| | Assoo and Looreenda | Dullals ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 18th Jan. 1854. |
| | Minkua Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 12th Aug. 1855. |
| | Lalla ... ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Sept. 1855. |
| 240 | Dullah Lall ... | Pundit ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | 18th Aug. 1865. |
| | Nyamta ... ... | Jotshee ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 17th Oct. 1865. |
| | Khooshie .. .. | Shopkeeper . | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Feb. 1862. |
| | Jubua and Tokoo ... | Shopkeepers.. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 23th June 1858. |
| | Phirai Lall ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 7th Aug. 1866. |
| 245 | Soonoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Dec. 1863. |
| | Sadhoo ... ... | Beggar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th Nov. 1861. |
| | Tapun Lall .. | Hukkeem ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 25th Feb. 1863. |
| | Jenomi Lall ... | Jotshee ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Sept. 1862. |
| | Rukha ... .. | Shopkeeper... | ,, .. | Mylsee ... | 21th Oct. 1857. |
| 250 | Mohun Mull ... | Laborer ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 18th July 1861. |
| | Kishna ... ... | Surraf ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 24th Dec. 1861. |
| | Kina Mull ... | Shopkeeper .. | ,, ... | ,, .. | 18th Jan. 1861. |
| | Lukkoo ... ... | Laborer ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th June 1859. |
| | Dewa ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 23rd March 1864. |
| 255 | Jessa ... ... | Dyer, silk ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th April 1856. |
| | Rukkha ... ... | Surraf ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 24th May 1859. |
| | Kunia Mull ... | Laborer ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | 23rd June 1862.. |
| | Kunia Mull ... | Puttolee ... | ,, ... | Konoro ... | 29th Feb. 1859. |
| 259 | Wallaya ... | Lace-maker | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 25th July 1861. |

## APPENDIX II,—*continued.*

*Statement of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State,*—continued.

| Number. | Name. | Occupation. | Localities. From | Localities. To | Date. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 260 | Moolla Mull ... | Reshum Phera | Bhawulpore... | Mooltan ... | 19th Aug. 1865. |
| | Jhangir Mull ... | Laborer ... | ... | ,, ... | 29th April 1861. |
| | Topun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 13th March 1863. |
| | Gungoo Lall ... | Jotshee ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th Oct. 1862. |
| | Moorlie Lall ... | Hukeem ... | ,, ... | Shoojabad ... | 24th Jan. 1862. |
| 265 | Tikun ... ... | Dullal ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 25th July 1857. |
| | Topun ... ... | Reshum Phera | ,, ... | Dooniapore... | 15th June 1857. |
| | Gopalla ... ... | Dullal ... | ,, ... | Mooltan ... | 29th Dec. 1864. |
| | Kullian Dass ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, ... | Shikerpore ... | 17th Jan. 1847. |
| | Tarroo Sing ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Sukker ... | 18th June 1847. |
| 270 | Loorinda Ram ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Shikerpore ... | 25th March 1838. |
| | Tejbhaun ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Bokhara ... | 18th Dec. 1855. |
| | Tikkun Mull ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | D. G. Khan... | 25th July 1852. |
| | Beeru Mull .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | Shahjanabad | 18th Sept. 1852. |
| | Desi Ram ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Sukker ... | 14th April 1855. |
| 275 | Lalla Mull ... | Hulwai ... | ,, ... | Adamwaha ... | 12th Oct. 1865. |
| | Bukshan ... ... | Cultivator ... | Banki ... | Lodhran ... | 11th Dec. 1856. |
| | Khyrun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 11th ,, 1856. |
| | Kurrma ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mylsee ... | 15th July 1862. |
| | Jewna ... ... | ,, ... | Gamooa ... | ,, ... | 17th Nov. 1852. |
| 280 | Azeem ... ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th June 1856. |
| | Karra ... ... | Cultivator ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Sept. 1862. |
| | Khamba ... ... | Meerasee ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 29th Oct. 1862. |
| | Imamoo ... ... | Cultivator ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 14th Feb. 1856. |
| | Noor ... ... | ,, ... | Issamatne ... | ,, ... | 18th March 1862. |
| 285 | Huzoori and Aya ... | Shopkeeper.. | ,, ... | ,, ... | 9th Dec. 1864. |
| | Sonoo ... ... | ,, ... | Bhawulpore... | ,, ... | 6th Jan. 1861. |
| | Nanoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Oct. 1861. |
| | Ahmud Bux ... | Weaver ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 20th June 1859. |
| | Kumal ... ... | Cultivator ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 10th April 1859. |
| 290 | Joomma ... ... | Mochie ... | ,, ... | Mylsee ... | 8th Jan. 1859. |
| | Hussun Allie ... | Cultivator ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 5th Aug. 1587. |
| | Bukshan ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 7th Nov. 1875. |
| | Jewun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 4th June 1863. |
| | Rumzan ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 3rd ,, 1864. |
| 295 | Ghunoo ... ... | Shopkeeper... | ,, .. | Lodhran ... | 4th Jan. 1859. |
| | Goolamo ... ... | Camel-man... | ,, ... | Shoojabad ... | 4th Nov. 1867. |
| | Meerun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Oct. 1867. |
| | Jewaya ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mylsee ... | 15th July 1857. |
| | Thungi ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Shoojabad ... | 29th Feb. 1862. |
| 300 | Summoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 15th Oct. 1857. |
| | Jummoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 10th Feb. 1860. |
| | Peerun ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 8th July 1857. |
| | Rumoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Mylsee ... | 6th Dec. 1857. |
| | Khyroo ... ... | Kombhar ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 18th Aug. 1857. |
| 305 | Jindoo ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | 20th Sept. 1856. |
| | Noor ... ... | Laborer ... | ,, ... | Roshum Shah | 14th July 1857. |
| | Golam Hussun ... | Cultivator ... | ,, ... | Lodhran ... | 15th June 1856. |
| | Hussun Bux ... | Dyer ... | Khyrpore ... | Mylsee ... | Left Khyrpore 7 years ago. |
| | Illahie Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 6 do. |
| 310 | Buksha ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 5 do. |
| | Mahomed ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 3 do. |
| | Kadir Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 10 do. |
| | Allah Bux ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, ... | Do. 3 do. |
| | Issa ... .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ..... |
| 315 | Shahooddeen ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, | Do 6 do. |
| | Rummoo ... .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 12 do. |
| | Boorhan ... ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 12 do. |
| | Mahomed ... | ,, ... | ,, .. | ,, .. | Do. 13 do. |
| | Abdoolla ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | Do. 13 do. |
| 320 | Peer Bux .. | ,, ... | ,, ... | ,, ... | |

## APPENDIX II,—*concluded.*

*Statement of Persons migrated from the Bhawulpore State,*—concluded.

| Number. | Name. | Occupation. | Localities. From | Localities. To | Date. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 321 | Khodad Bux ... | Dyer ... | Khyrpore | Khoad Ahmed-pore Assur. | Left Khyrpore 5 years ago. |
| | Mahomed ... | " ... | " .. | " ... | Do. 5 do. |
| | Ahmud Allie ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 10 do. |
| | Hussun ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 10 do. |
| 325 | Mahomed ... | " ... | " .. | " ... | Do. 10 do. |
| | Doolla ... | " ... | " ... | Seetpore ... | Do. 3 do. |
| | Nubbee Bux ... | Washerman .. | " ... | " ... | Do. 3 do. |
| | Oomaida ... | Cultivator ... | Mobarukpore | Lodhran ... | Do. 2 do. |
| | Kurrum ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 1 do. |
| 330 | Ahmud ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 15 days ago. |
| | Khyroo .. | Camel-man .. | " ... | " ... | Do 2 years ago. |
| | Yarun ... | Cultivator .. | " ... | " ... | Do. 4 do. |
| | Peerun ... | Brickmaker .. | " ... | " ... | Do. 1 year ago. |
| | Soohara ... | Mochie ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 5 months ago. |
| 335 | Joomma ... | Cultivator ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 1 year ago. |
| | Khumeesa ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 5 years ago. |
| | Pulla ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 2 do. |
| | Rukha ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 2 months ago. |
| | Bukshun ... | " .. | " ... | " ... | Do. 15 years ago. |
| 340 | Peerun ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 15 do. |
| | Gamun ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 5 do. |
| | Hajee ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 3 do. |
| | Mitha ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 1 year ago. |
| | Soba ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 4 years ago. |
| 345 | Mehrwan ... | Weaver ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 3 do. |
| | Golam Hyder ... | Cultivator ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 5 do. |
| | Rumzan ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 5 do. |
| | Yarun ... | " ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 6 do. |
| | Khoda Bux ... | Potter (kom-bhur) ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 7 do. |
| 350 | Noor .. | Cultivator ... | " ... | " ... | Do. 6 do. |

(Sd.) C. MINCHIN, *Captain,*
*Poltl. Supdt. of Bhawulpore.*

## APPENDIX III.

*Copy of Extract from a Memorandum on the Dera Ghazie Khan District.*

To sum up briefly the irrigation works carried out in the district during the past four years at the joint expense of Zemindars and the Government are as follows:—

1*st.*—The Mussoowah, at the sole cost of projector, Musoo Khan Nootkani, at a cost of Rs. 26,000.

2*nd.*—The Dhoondie, at the joint expense of Government and the Zemindars, at a cost of Rs. 80,000.

3*rd.*—The Fazilwale and Dhori, at the sole cost of the projectors, Fuzil Allee Khan Loond and Secunder Khan Cosa, at an estimated cost of Rs. 18,000.

4*th.*—The Noor, by the Zemindars, at a cost of Rs. 6,000.

5*th.*—The extension of the Manka at a cost of not less than Rs. 65,000, of which Rs. 29,270 were paid by Government.

6*th.*—The Gamul branch of the Kadra Canal, on which the Zemindars have paid Rs. 28,000.

7*th.*—Branch canals from the Kaatule, at a cost of about Rs. 6,000.

On these works the capital expended by the Chiefs and principal Zemindars of the district cannot be less than Rs. 1,50,000. Of other irrigation works the principal are the damming up the mouth of the Shoree Hill stream and making supply channels to irrigate the waste lands in front of Kim, which was completed this last year by the Muzari Chief, Emam Bux Khan, with the assistance of his tribe, of account of which Government has sanctioned the rent-free grant on the lands irrigated by this work for a term of 20 years, and the improvements of the several mouths and channels of the Gawaz, Noorwah, Nye Shumalle, and Nowa Shahur branches of the Kabo Nullah in the Dajul Tehsil, at a cost of not less than Rs. 8,000, under the superintendence of Tehsildar Chummon Mull, to whom these works are entirely due.

(True Extract)

(Sd.) C. MINCHIN, *Captain,*

*Poltl. Supdt. of Bhawulpore.*

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## APPENDIX IV.

*Statement submitted by Assistant Superintendent Moorad Shah.*

All classes, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, are much happier under British than the Native rulers for the following reasons:—

1*st.*—Under Mahomedan rulers Hindoos are prevented from following out their religious rites; are often forcibly converted and circumcised, whether converted or not; and such acts are wantonly commtted is are most obnoxious to their religious feelings, taking away their temples, destroying their Soukhs, killing bullocks near their Dhurmsallas, &c. Under the Sikh rule Mahomedans were not allowed

to call the faithful to prayers. If any Mahomedan was caught killing a bullock secretly in the jungles, he was burnt alive; if done in a village, it was at once plundered and burnt. Under British rule both Hindoos and Mahomedans carry on their religious rites undisturbed. In Mooltan the Eedgah was seized by the Sikh and Hindoo Singh's Regiment put up in it; at the commencement of the British rule it was used as a kutcherry, but it was restored to the Mahomedans at Mr. Ford's application,and no gift could have ensured greater happiness and contentment. At the Eed thousands of Mahomedans assembled to bless the British rule for this signal instance of its liberality.

*2nd.*—Under the old Mahomedan rulers, Jhung Kote, Kumalia, the Derajat, and Mooltan were subject to continual inroads from the Sikhs, who harassed the whole country. No one dared cultivate the lands for fear of the crops being destroyed and their cattle carried off. Under British rule all is peace, and Zemindars are able to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

*3rd.*—The Government order prohibiting the keeping of arms has had the happiest effect in putting a stop to the disorders which were formerly so prevalent in those parts, where the following tribes residing in the Bar lived almost solely by plunder, so that no man's life or property was safe, *viz.*, Kalias, Kumahanas, Sirganahs, Wuttoos, Ali Khanas, Bhirwanalis, Sinpats, Seals Supras, Baboo Jowannas Wainiwals, Kurrals, Truggers, Lungrials, Saholis, Hurrajes. At Bhawulpore in the present day murders are of frequent occurrence; in British territory, however, all such raids have been efficiently suppressed.

*4th.*—A few of the Mahomedan tribes and a large number of Hindoos, chiefly of the Khatree castes, were in the habit of destroying their female children at birth on account of the great expense attending marriages and their pride in considering no one worthy of mating with them. This has been noticed by the Government, and repeated efforts made to put a stop to it with the greatest success, so that, whereas these classes had become nearly extinct, they have now become populous, and the men of their families saved from a life of vice.

*5th.*—Under both Mahomedan and Sikh rulers the poorer Zemindars are much oppressed. The richer seized the lands of the poor classes, and if a complaint was made to the rulers, a handsome nuzzur soon confirmed the rich oppressor in his possession.

Under Sawun Mull the village of Shukroo, in the Mooltan District, was ultimately given to the Sirganah or Hurraj without reference to proprietary rights according to the amount of nuzzur either party presented to the Dewan. Under British rule nuzzuranas have been prohibited, and each person is maintained in possession of his own property.

*6th.*—Under Native rulers, in addition to the demand on the land, the following imposts were established:—Subzi mundi zekat, tahdaree, chelyek, mohars, chubootra, &c., so that the unfortunate proprietors had but little left to them from produce of their estates; their estates were heavily mortgaged in consequence: they are now freed from all these imposts; their estates are lightly assessed, and cultivation has increased.

*7th.*—The Bhawulpore State was a standing contrast, and the Zemindars residing in the neighbourhood could congratulate themselves on the exemption they enjoyed. Under Native rule the Zemindars were attacked both in property and reputation; every handsome virgin was at once sent for to the harem, and should the Nawab be pleased with her, she was retained, but if not, she was allowed to return to her home. It is this custom which swelled the numbers of women confined in the harem of Ahmedpore and Dillawur. The exactions of Nawab's servants, horse-keepers, bullock-drivers, and kunjkees were so great that hundreds of Zemindars, abandoning their possessions, sought safety and projection in British territory.

*8th*—Again, under Native rulers, merchants and traders suffer great hardships; they are stopped at every town and village, their goods are opened and examined, and they have to pay large sums for zekat (customs), rahdaree (transit dues), chubootra (town dues), goozar (ferry dues), &c., from nearly all of which they are exempt under British rule, and they can go from one end of the Empire to the other without molestation and their goods protected by the Police.

*9th.*—Lastly, under Native rulers, whenever lands are required for public purposes, they are seized and no compensation awarded, whereas under British rule the compensation amply remunerates them for their property.

(Sd.) C. MINCHIN, *Captain,*

*Polll. Supdt. of Bhawulpore.*

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From W. G. PEDDER, ESQ., Superintendent, Revenue Survey and Assessment, Khandeish, to the Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Simla,—(No. 234, dated Malligaum, 16th August 1867).

In reply to your confidential letter, dated Simla, 1st July 1867, I have the honor to submit the following report.

2. The points at issue are two,—1*st*, whether the people are really more prosperous under British than under Native rule; 2*nd*, whether they consider themselves to be so, *i. e.*, are happier. I will consider these points with reference to—I, taxation; II, security of person and property; III, administration of civil and criminal justice in the provinces with which I have some acquaintance, *viz.*, Guzerat and Khandeish. I must premise that the Native governments with which I contrast British administration are those of the Murathee Powers, the Peshwa, Scindia, Holkar, or the Guikwar, to which our rule succeeded, and which are probably the only alternative to it in the Bombay Presidency.

3. Having been employed for many years in Guzerat on special duties connected with the settlement of the land revenue, and of the various titles to land in that province, I have had peculiar opportunities for making myself acquainted with the early records of all the Guzerat Collectorates. In particular I have read a great number of documents prepared soon after the introduction of British rule, in which is recorded all the information which the old Patels could then supply regarding the

history of their villages. Many of these papers are very interesting, and give the village annals from the end of the 17th century. The quotations in this letter, where not otherwise noted, are from the Hon'ble Montstuart Elphinstone's Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa, written in 1821.

4. I.—*Taxation.*—There can be no doubt whatever that the weight of taxation generally was much greater under the Murathee than under the British Government. It is said that the revenue derived by the different Murathee Governments at the end of the 18th century from the Deccan, Khandeish, and Guzerat amounted to £25,000,000, or one-fifth more than the whole land revenue of British India. Yet the country was unquestionably much poorer than it now is. In 15 districts of the province of Khandeish, the cultivated area in 1818, the first year of British rule, was little more than four lakhs of acres. It now exceeds 13 lakhs. The Murathee theory of land assessment, indeed, was that half the gross produce belonged to the State.

5. Not only were the demands of the Murathee Government heavy, but they were uncertain, varying from year to year, and composed of many different items, and were often nearly equalled by additional illicit exactions. The Deccan cultivator was doubtless the best off under Murathee rule, as his government was a Native one, and his district, before the introduction of the farming system, was managed by a salaried official who had an interest in its prosperity from the long period for which he was allowed to hold it. Yet, under these most favorable circumstances, the ordinary assessment he had to pay was composed of the following items:—Sirdeshmookhi Chout and Jagheer Chout, divided into Babtee and Mokassa, Mokasse into Lin and Schotra. This gives, says Mr. Elphinstone, "but an imperfect idea of the numerous sub-divisions which have been made in most parts of the country. Some were assigned to jagheerdars; but when they all fell into the hands of Government, it kept them up in name, and even in practice. One man would collect Sirdeshmookhi, another Jagheer, a 3rd Mokassa, a 4th Babtee, a 5th Schotra, in the same village. Where there was a defalcation, each endeavored to collect his own and throw his loss on his neighbour, and a general struggle ensued, in which the ryots were sure to suffer." The regular land tax was composed of these items; but, in addition, the cultivator had to pay those included in the "Sewai jumma," such as house-tax cesses, taxes on animals, &c., and also an extra assessment, "Sadur-Warid Pattee," "the grand source of the Mamlutdar's profit," levied to pay expenses not provided for by Government, one of the chief of which was called 'Untust,' and was originally applied secretly to bribe the ministers. By degrees these bribes became established fees; but as bribes were still required, another increase of collections took place for this purpose; and as the auditors did not search minutely into these delicate transactions, the Mamlutdar collected much more for himself than for his patrons." In years when the harvest was particularly good, or when an extraordinary emergency occurred, an extra cess, "Yek-Sali Pattee," was imposed, and frequently not taken off when the occasion for it had passed away. Besides all this, the cultivators had to pay direct "Huks" to village and district officers, often heavy in amount. The mode of realizing these demands was simple

"If a ryot refused to pay, the Sebundy confined him, exposed him to the sun, put a heavy stone on his head, and prevented his eating and drinking till he paid."

6. All these evils were much aggravated under the farming system. "The office of Mamlutdar, instead of being conferred as a favor on a person of experience and probity, was put up to auction for one year among the Peshwa's attendants. The Mamlutdar, thus constituted, had no time for enquiry, and no motive for forbearance; he let his district out at an enhanced rate to under-farmers, who repeated the operation till it reached the Patels. If one of these officers farmed his own village, he became absolute master of every one in it. No complaints were listened to. If the Patels refused to farm the village at the rate proposed" (I have seen in old Guzerat records instances of their being compelled to do so by torture), "the case was worse, as the Mamlutdar's own officer undertook to levy the sum determined on, with less knowledge and less mercy than the Patel. In either case the actual state of the cultivation was disregarded; a man's means of payment, not the land he occupied, was the scale on which he was assessed. No moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed; every pretext for fine and forfeiture, every means of vigour and confiscation, were employed to squeeve the utmost out of the people before the arrival of the day when the Mamlutdar was to give up his charge. Amidst all this violence, a regular account, of course fictitious, was prepared. When the time came for the Mamlutdar to make up his accounts, his exactions were most severely felt; for he had a certain sum to make up, and if the collections fell short, he portioned out the balance among the exhausted villages, and left the Patels to extort it on whatever pretence and by whatever means they thought proper."

7. The above relates only to the land revenue. The non-agricultural classes were equally heavily taxed. They had to pay house-tax, shop-tax, taxes on domestic animals, mohtufa or license-tax on trades, license-tax for marriages, for the right to beat drums on festivals, on weights and measures, &c.; also zekat or customs (a great check to trade, as it was levied separately in every district through which the goods passed), nuzzur or succession duty, a tax of 12 per cent. on sales of animals, kotwalee or town duties, including a tax of 17 per cent. on the sale of houses, &c. That these taxes were not light is shown by the fact that, in the province of Ahmedabad, the produce of them nearly equalled the land revenue.

8. If this was the state of taxation in the Deccan, it was much worse in Guzerat, where the people, in race and language, were foreign to their Murathee rulers, where the farming system was introduced earlier and more systematically than in the Deccan, and where districts were portioned out between the Moguls, the Peshwa, the Guikwar, and Scindia, which Powers were continually at war, so that a single village was often called on to pay revenue to two or more at once. In mowass and talookdari districts, those in which the land belonged to Rajpoot or Koly Chiefs, the revenue was only collected by sending round a moolukgiri army while the crops were standing; and as the chiefs made resistance a point of honor, the collection of the Government demands was annually attended with bloodshed and wide devastation, the result being

that the most powerful chiefs paid little, the weaker were crushed by the exaction. In crown districts the revenue settlement of Akbar, and the proprietary rights based on it, almost entirely disappeared; the constitution of most of the joint village communities, and the distinction between proprietary and non-proprietary cultivators, was destroyed; many villages relapsed into the bhagbottai or metagar system; but the benefits of that system were completely neutralized by the practice of imposing arbitrary cesses in addition to the Government share of produce, the worst of which, "Jasti-Veero," was meant to secure to the farmer of revenue the profits of an exceptionally good harvest. In other villages, the revenue system was that of crop or of caste rates, also supplemented by cesses; and in many, all these systems prevailed at once, so that no cultivator could have any idea of what he ought to pay. I may give two examples of the way in which the Guzerat peasantry were rack-rented under Murathee rule. The assessment of a village near Ahmedabad, which, when it passed into the hands of the Guikwar, was paying £80 per annum, was raised in a single generation, during which it was repeatedly burnt and deserted to £600, when it was finally abandoned. And while Scindia held Broach during the last quarter of the 18th century, he farmed the district for a short term to an hereditary officer, whose exactions were so oppressive that the people proved he had raised in four years nearly £80,000, more than the sum for which he had contracted, including the stipulated percentage for expenses of management. Scindia in this fined him £80,000, which sum was not, however, returned to the defrauded cultivators, and deprived him of his farm, which was immediately undertaken at an enhanced rate by a Surat banker. This revenue system, together with the incessant wars and total absence of security, resulted in destructive famines, to alleviate which nothing, so far as I know, was done by the Murathee Governments, and one of which, that of A. D. 1803, so completely depopulated the once thriving province of Khandeish that there are still large waste tracts, now uninhabitable from malaria, but full of the ruins of what were once flourishing villages.

9. It is hardly necessary to compare the British revenue system with that above described. Now, the non-agricultural classes pay no direct taxes whatever, except the recently imposed license tax, and the indirect taxes which they pay in common with the agriculturists, the salt duty, customs, and excise, &c., are unquestionably infinitely lighter than the imposts of the Murathee Government. The land revenue is now of the nature of a rent-charge; it probably averages less than one-seventh the gross produce, and in some districts is less than that. Under the Bombay survey system, it is regulated entirely by the value of the land; it is fixed for 30 years, and cannot be raised against the holder at the expiry of that period on account of any improvements he has made; all imposts whatever, including "Huks" of villages and district officers, are consolidated with the land assessment; the mode of realization in case of default is simply by sale of the land, and every peasant has his receipt book, in which the extent and assessment of his holding is entered, so that illicit exactions are nearly impossible, while, in Guzerat at least, the rights of superior holders, whether landlords, such as talookdars, or joint village communities, are carefully upheld.

10. I have never heard from any cultivator any question of the infinite superiority of the British over the Native system of land revenue. There is nothing that the Bombay ryot thinks of such consequence as the consolidation of all imposts into one assessment on the land. So much is this the case that I have been repeatedly asked to do away with the merely nominal distinction between Local Fund and Imperial Revenue (the former being one anna to every Rupee of assessment, but assessed and levied in precisely the same way), merely because the people thought it of more consequence to preserve the principle of a single assessment than to have the advantage of claiming that a portion of their assessment should be expended upon local improvements.

11. The only objections I have heard to the Bombay revenue system have been from landlords, such as Inamdars, and from traders; the former, because they find that the advantages enjoyed by Government cultivators have a tendency to reduce their rentals; the latter, because they think that the income tax and now the license tax have been rendered necessary by the moderation of our land assessment, and that good government consists in providing for all the expenses of the State out of the land revenue.

12. On the whole, I am convinced, not only that our revenue system is infinitely superior to that of the Murathees, but that the people generally feel that it is so.

13. II.—Security or otherwise of property in the soil must, in a country like India, be one of the points on which the happiness of the people is most affected by the Government. By the Bombay settlement an indefeasible hereditable, transferable right of property is given to every occupant of Government land, subject only to payment of the assessment, and that the people value this is shown by the common phrase, "the Sircar has given us all its land in miras." Now, in Guzerat, though a certain proprietary right of the cultivator in crown lands was of very ancient date, was apparently more or less acknowledged by the Mahomedan Kings, and was confirmed and even extended by the settlement of Akbar, yet I cannot find that the Murathee Governments respected it in any way, or that they treated any Government cultivator as otherwise than a tenant-at-will, and the same was the case in Khandeish. But in the Deccan, though much land was cultivated by "Ooprees," or tenants-at-will, yet a large proportion was held as miras, or hereditable and transferable property. This mirasi right was much prized by the people, and "no species of property was so much respected by the Government;" still, though "the tax on miras land was fixed, the Murathee Government loaded it with other impositions, who reduced that advantage to a mere name, and took advantage of the attachment of a mirasdar to his land to make him pay considerably more than an Oopree."

Report of Captain Grant, Political Agent at Sattara in 1819.

14. The most unpopular measure of the British Government has probably been the appointment of the Bombay Commission of enquiry into the title to alienated land. But the Murathee Governments, though they seem generally to have avoided nominal resumptions, had no scruple whatever in appropriating the profits of alienated lands by the imposition, under the plea of necessity, of such taxes as "Dulcah

Puttee," "Inam Tijavee," &c., and often permanently. An instance of this is a fine village which was granted about the end of the 15th century by one of the Sultans of Ahmedabad for the support of a Mahomedan shrine. The Murathee Governor of Ahmedabad demanded a quit-rent from the holder of this village, who refused it, pleading that the original grant was free of assessment. The Murathee admitted this, but immediately imposed, under the name of cesses, an assessment upon the cultivators at least as heavy as that upon neighbouring government villages, so that the landlord, nominally holding his village free of assessment, really derived little or no income from it; such cases were numerous. It must, however, be allowed that the great unpopularity of the Inam Commission arose from its claiming to act upon principles of justice, but which no Native would allow to be just.

15. It is easy to admit, as Natives freely do, that British rule has given greater security of person and property; but few persons can now realize what was the state of things to which it succeeded. It is not too much to say that in this respect the present condition of Guzerat and Khandeish differs as much from the condition of those provinces in the 18th century (expressively called by the Guzerat peasantry the time of the Guneems or plunderers), as that of the England of Queen Victoria from the England of Stephen.

16. The following facts will illustrate this statement:—

1*st*.—A very numerous class in Guzerat are the Kolies, who, though they are fond of claiming a Rajpoot descent, and though some of their chiefs are really half-bred Rajpoots, are not of Hindoo blood, but are descendants of the aboriginal tribes who inhabited the province before the Argan conquest. They have, however, long adopted, at least in great part, the Hindoo religion and manners. By no class are the benefits of British rule more clearly shown. Fifty years ago the Kolies were a restless, turbulent race, defiant of authority, despising agriculture, living by plunder, and famous throughout India for the skill and daring of their predatory exploits, of which strange tales are still told. The names by which they were known denoted their habits. They called themselves "Shumsher Bahadoor," and were designated by others "Dharola," or armed people—a name which they still retain. They have now universally settled down in peaceful husbandmen, some of whose villages, in comfort and skilful cultivation, may vie with those of Koonbies: open resistance to authority is unknown, and even petty robberies are comparatively rare. I have spent nine years in every part of Guzerat without a guard, and have never had my house or tent robbed. In a civil case, a few years ago, it appeared that a cart, containing valuables, worth about £1,000, was insured between Ahmedabad and Patree, a road which passes hrough a district of Kolies, who used to bear the worst

There is an interesting account of the state of the Guzerat Kolies in Bishop Heber's Journal.

reputation for a few Rupees. The insurer, an old banker, was asked for what he would have insured it 50 years ago, and replied, not for half its value: he must have sent 100 armed men with it.

*2nd.*—The Rajpoot Chiefs, who mostly resided on the frontiers, made a regular practice of levying black mail (called Tora Girass, whence these chiefs are called Grassias) to such an extent that in many districts not a single village was exempt from the imposition. If it was not regularly paid, the village was burnt and the Patels carried off to be held to ransom. Two or three years after the cession of Surat, a village within a mile of the British cantonment was burnt for this reason by a Rajpoot Chief, who escaped to the hills, carrying off the Patels, who had to be ransomed by Government after being tortured. The black mail has long been commuted into pensions paid by Government to the chiefs; and Rajpoot incursions have for many years been as much unknown as are highland forage in the lowlands of Scotland. But a curious illustration of the old state of things exists in the "Paleeyor," or tombstones so numerous in Guzerat villages, which were erected to commemorate peasants who fell in defence of their homes.

*3rd.*—Besides the sufferings of the province from robber tribes, every petty chief and every village during the 18th century waged war with their neighbours at discretion; boundary disputes, which have now been peacefully arranged, being the commonest cause.

*4th.*—The coasts of Guzerat and the Konkan suffered dreadfully during the 18th century from the ravages of pirates. On one occasion all the women of a Brahmin town were carried off by Mahomedan pirates, who not only violated them, which perhaps was not thought of so great consequence, but deprived them of caste by forcing beef into their mouths. During 1857-58, I heard a story that the inhabitants of a coast village were talking over the war, and some of the younger men expressed a wish for the success of the rebellion. An aged Patel, pointing to a lofty palm on the seashore, said, "I remember when a man always sat in that tree to give warning of the approach of pirates, and once or twice a year we had to fly inland with our cattle and property. You have never seen a pirate, and I recommend you to pray for the Sirkar."

*5th.*—In Khandeish, the Bheels or aboriginal tribes, sallying from their fastnesses in the hills, committed great ravages upon the villages of the plains. The policy of the Mahrattas towards these people was cruel in the extreme. A common punishment for a Bheel, whose only crime perhaps was his being a Bheel, was to be tied to a red-hot gun. Numbers of them, with their wives and children, betrayed by treachery, after being flogged or mutilated by the ampu-

tation of their noses, ears, and the breasts of the women, were thrown down precipices or into dry wells. They of course retaliated when they could by similar atrocities. The Bheels are now perfectly peaceful, and many of them live in the plains as cultivators of Government land or agricultural laborers.

*6th*—Khandeish is full of dismantled hill forts. These were supposed to curb the hill tribes, but during Mahrattee rule, they were occupied by Arabs and other mercenary troops, who laid the whole country under contribution and committed great atrocities.

17. The Natives in these provinces are quite willing to admit the fact of their living far more securely under British than under Mahrattee rule. But the generation which felt the miseries of Mahrattee misgovernment has passed away, and I think the tradition of it is growing faint among them. Perhaps the words of Gibbon, regarding the Kingdom of Theodoric in Italy, may be applied to them.* They are apt to complain of our police system, and, notwithstanding the great results which it has effected, not perhaps altogether without reason. They accuse the police of inefficiency in detecting crime of corruption, and, to some extent at least, of oppression. They forget, however, that, if the police is bad, it is chiefly because good Native material for it is so difficult to procure, and that the fault lies in great measure with themselves. They are so timid that respectable people will not communicate what they know to the authorities; and so false that, if the latter seek for information regarding the police, they are deluged with groundless accusations, often directed against the very men who are trying to do their duty, because they carry out sanitary or other measures which happen to be unpopular.

* "These ungrateful subjects could never be reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror: past calamities were forgotten, and the sense or suspicion of injuries was rendered more exquisite by the present felicity of the times."

18. III.—It is very difficult to give any description of the administration of civil and criminal justice under the Mahrattees, because in Guzerat at least no fixed system could be said to exist. The following sketch, therefore, refers to the Deccan, and it will be understood that whatever were the evils of the system in that province, they were exaggerated in Khandeish and Guzerat:—

"The power of administering criminal justice was vested in the Revenue Officers, and varied with their rank—from the Patel who could imprison for a few days, to the Sirsoobhadar, who had power of life and death. The right of inflicting punishment, however, was very undefined: one Patel would flog and fine and put in the stocks for many weeks, another would not venture even to imprison. Most Mamlutdars would hang a low caste robber without a reference; a chief had full authority over his troops and servants. There was no prescribed form of trial; a Bheel, caught in a part of the country where Bheels were plundering, would be hanged immediately. In doubtful cases the chief authority would order some of the people about him to enquire into the affair. The prisoner was examined, and if suspicions were strong, was flogged to make him confess; even in common criminal trials no law seems ever to have been referred to.

The only rule was the custom of the country, and the Magistrate's notion of expediency; great abuses are said to have at all times existed. Criminals found refuge in one district chased out of another; some jagheerdars made a trade of harbouring robbers; false accusations were made a cloak to exactions; any offender could purchase his release if he had money enough to pay for it; and Mamlutdars would sometimes release even Bhool robbers and allow them to resume their depredations on payment of a sum of money." Punishments were regulated more by the caste or influence of the offender than by the nature of his crime; "and the commonest was fine and confiscation, to which the Mamlutdar was so much prompted by avarice that it was difficult to say whether it was inflicted as a regular punishment or made use of as a means of gaining wealth."

19. Notwithstanding the obvious evils of a system so lax and corrupt as that here described, Mr. Elphinstone says that crime *in the Mahrattee country proper* was rarer than might be supposed.

20. The Mahrattee system of civil justice is described as follows:—

"The authorities by whom civil justice was administered were the Patel, the Mamlutdar, and Sirsoobhadar, and, above all, the Peshwa jagheerdars administered justice in their own lands with little or no interference from Government. In some large towns was a Judicial Officer. If a complaint was made to a Patel, he would send for the person complained of and interfere, partly as a friend, to settle the mode of payment of the debt. If it was disputed, he assembled a punchayut, who enquired into the matter, with the consent of the parties, with very little form, and decided as they thought best; or the complainant went to the Mamlutdar, who proceeded nearly as the Patel, but who could compel the defendant to submit to a punchayut. There was no regular appeal; the superior authority would not revise the decision of the inferior, unless in cases of gross injustice or corruption; in cases of less purity, that is, in almost all cases, the superior was influenced in receiving the appeal by the consideration of the profit promised. The members of the punchayut received no fee, but when they had much trouble, the winner made them openly a present. A sum of money was levied for Government from the winner and from the loser: one-fourth of the property is put down as the price paid for justice by the plaintiff when he wins. When a matter had come to a trial it was expected that Government should enforce the decision, but with the irregularity characteristic of the Mahrattees, the plaintiff was often permitted to enforce it himself. This system in the best of times was very imperfect. There was no regular administration of justice, no certain means of filing a suit, no fixed procedure. It rested with the officer applied to, to receive or neglect a complaint. There can be little doubt of the difficulty of getting justice, except by means of bribery or of powerful friends. The punchayuts themselves were open to corruption or partiality, and had not sufficient powers. No decision was final, and there was as much difficulty in being exempt from an unjust revision as in obtaining a just one. Under the farming system things were worse: justice was openly sold. The party in the wrong could always, by a bribe, prevent the cause going to a punchayut, or upset the decision of one. The Government afforded little justice to the rich and none

to the poor; yet the system had some advantages to counterbalance its obvious defects, most of which originated in one fact, that the Government, though it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who are most apt to be neglected under all governments. By means of the punchayut they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves. The intimate acquaintance of the members of the punchayuts with the subject in dispute made their decisions frequently correct, and it was an advantage of incalculable value that the Judges, being drawn from the body of the people, could act on no principles that were not generally understood. The inertness of Government was counteracted by various expedients which, objectionable in themselves, supplied the place of better principles. These were private redress, patronage, and presents."

21. It would seem absurd to make any comparison between a system so lax and corrupt as that above described and our pure systematic and impartial administration of civil and criminal justice. Yet I feel bound to say that, so far as my observation goes, the Courts are the most unpopular branch of our administration, not indeed among the educated or mercantile town population, but among the great mass of the peasantry. Some years ago the Guikwar introduced, as a reform, a Civil Procedure Code founded upon ours in his territories in Guzerat, on which a Patel, in one of his villages, remarked that his subjects were going to be deprived of the solitary advantage they had over the "Sirkar's ryots," that of having no Civil Courts.

22. This feeling is not, I think, caused by any doubt of the purity, justice, or independence of the Courts; on the contrary, the people value them highly as a safeguard against any oppression on the part of the administrative officers of Government. It arises, I believe, chiefly from the following causes.

23. As regards Civil Justice—

*1st.*—Though the nominal interest on debts was very high under Mahrattee rule, yet the debtor had a good chance of escaping payment altogether, and might be pretty sure of being able to free himself by a reasonable compromise. The establishment of the British Civil Courts gave creditors, mostly of the mercantile classes, prompt and effectual means of enforcing their claims against the peasantry, who had contracted the debts under very different circumstances. Partly from an economical cause (the fall in the value of produce which succeeded the introduction of British rule), but in very great measure from the action of the Civil Courts, the whole of the peasantry of this Presidency were for nearly two generations crushed under a load of debt. They attributed their calamities entirely to British administration, and the Mahrattee proverb, "the pest of Courts," shows their feeling.

*2nd.*—Since, of late years, the rise of prices and an equitable and moderate revenue settlement have enabled the peasantry generally to throw off their debts; this feeling has become

traditional rather than based on an existing state of things. And in important cases, involving considerable amounts, the people are, I think, quite satisfied with the Civil Courts. But they complain bitterly of the difficulty, expense, and trouble required to get redress in petty cases, now that their own punchayut system has sunk into disuse. One sees this very much in settlement work. In a country of peasant proprietors there are numerous petty disputes about land, mostly presenting no difficulty, but beyond the competency of a Revenue Court; yet, attached as the people are to their rights in land, they often, perhaps generally, prefer to sit down under an injustice rather than apply to a Civil Court.

The best remedy for this, in my humble opinion, would be an extension of the system of Small Cause Courts.

24. One of the objections made to our system of criminal justice is the many chances of escape which it affords to criminals. But the chief cause of its unpopularity is the inconvenience which it inflicts upon prosecutors and witnesses. The people have little public spirit, and, at the best, are apt to think it hard that a man must leave his occupation, and perhaps incur enmity, to give evidence in a case which does not concern him. This feeling is intensely aggravated where, as in a province like Khandeish, with an area of 15,000 square miles, prosecutor, prisoner, and witnesses have perhaps to travel 300 or 400 miles in a single case, and it is of no small importance where it unites the whole population in opposition to the administration of justice. I should like to see the Sessions held, instead of at the sudder station, quarterly or half-yearly at all the chief towns of the province. Prisoners, it is true, would thus have to wait longer for a sentence, but much inconvenience would be saved to prosecutors and witnesses.

25. I have hitherto compared British rule with that only to which it succeeded. Perhaps I should contrast it with the only existing Native State with which I am acquainted—that of Baroda. Never having held a political appointment, I do not know much of the administrative system of the Guikwar's government, but I have travelled much in his territories, and conversed freely with many of his subjects.

26. The impression I have formed is, that although the Guikwar's administration (chiefly owing, it must be said, to the example and admonitions of the British Government) is probably better than that of the Peshwa's dominions under Nana Furnavees, and is certainly infinitely superior to that under Bajee Row, though he himself is an intelligent Prince, and several of his ministers able and enlightened men, though his people complain little, and his Government generally is perhaps better than that of most Native States, yet the people of the adjoining British territory are better governed and more prosperous, and that they are fully aware of it.

27. In the first Place taxation is far heavier in the Guikwar's than in British territory. Pitland, a Kaira district, was equally divided between the Peshwa and the Guikwar—the share of the former afterwards falling to the British Government. I have been told, I believe correctly, that the revenue of the Guikwar's share is nearly treble that

of the British share. I have found the same difference between the rates of assessment in force in Guikwar villages and those imposed by the settlement in neighbouring Government villages. There are also many imposts, besides the regular land assessment, which fall on both the agricultural and non-agricultural classes. Taxation is also uncertain, the assessment not being fixed for any period, and being regulated more according to the means of the cultivator than to the value of land. I believe, however, that the Guikwar's government is making some efforts to put the assessment on a more equitable footing. The system of farming the revenue is still in force in the greater portion of the Baroda State, and the frequent and troublesome outbreaks in the Guikwar's territory in Kattywar are said to be chiefly owing to the oppressive measures of the farmers. The administration of justice is capricious, and punishments, though uncertain and easily evaded by criminals of wealth or influence, are cruel. "Don't think," said a Native gentleman to me of a criminal whom the Guikwar had sentenced to imprisonment, "that the Baroda jail is like that at Ahmedabad: one year in the Guikwar's jail is much worse than seven in the Sirkar's." The people certainly believe, truly or not, that corruption is rife in all departments of the State, and acts, of what we should consider downright oppression on the part of the Government, are not uncommon. I have heard that two or three years ago the chief men of a fine Guikwar village were imprisoned, and the village fined Rs. 40,000, because a courtezan, a favorite of the Guikwar's, was insulted there.

28. I certainly think that the people of our territories in Guzerat consider themselves fortunate in not being subjects of the Guikwar. The Guzerat Koonbies are a remarkably sturdy, independent race, and will often wrangle for days over a slight increase made in the revision of their assessment. In such cases I have often asked them if they would like their village exchanged for one of the Guikwar's, and have always had the same answer, "anything but that." Any measures which they do not like they commonly describe as "like Guikwar zoolum." It has been stated in the House of Commons that emigration from a foreign State into British territory is hardly known. Throughout the greater portion of the Guzerat Collectorates the land is so fully occupied that there is no room for new settlers; but in two or three of the northern districts, where there was much waste, cultivation doubled itself within a few years of the introduction of the survey settlement, and this was in very great measure due to immigration from the Guikwar's country.

29. I have said nothing in this report of such measures, as popular education, sanitary reform, and improvement of the means of communication, which were never dreamt of under a Native Government.

30. Perhaps the best test of what is the popular feeling towards our rule is to be found in what the Native papers say of us. Liberty of the Press has been so long established, and is so fully understood, that I am quite sure that there is no reticence on the subject of British administration in the vernacular papers, and it is certainly the fashion among educated Natives here to assail the Government and its officers—a fashion which arises partly from our personal unpopularity with them, partly from a sincere desire to improve the administration and to reform abuses;—yet complaints against British rule are not numerous, and are generally of a very trivial nature, while those against the administration

of Native States are constant and more serious. I have just been looking through a file of recent vernacular papers. I find in these two complaints regarding British rule,—one insisting on the hardship of people having to serve as assessors in the Courts, the other a personal attack on an officer for assaulting some coolies. There are ten or twelve complaints affecting Native States. One chief is accused of imposing a special income tax of 25 per cent. on all his people on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, and others of different acts of oppression, or of generally corrupt administration.

31. On the whole, I think the following to be a tolerably fair account of the feeling of the Natives towards British rule in the provinces with which I am acquainted :—

The principles of our Government and, in a lesser degree, our administration, are generally approved by all classes.

We are tolerably popular among the agricultural and mercantile classes, which form the bulk of the population.

Our rule is now unpopular with the poorer town population, who suffer from the high prices which have benefited the country generally, and which they ascribe to the action of Government.

We are personally intensely unpopular with the higher, and especially with the educated classes.

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From Lieut. Colonel W. W. Anderson, Acting Political Agent, Kattywar, to the Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Rajkote, 12th August 1867).

Your confidential communication to the address of Lieutenant Colonel Keatinge reached this Office after the departure of that officer on leave to Europe. I nevertheless forwarded a copy of it to him by the following mail, and he may most probably address you himself on the subject.

2. As His Excellency the Viceroy would seem anxious to have any statements on the subject of your letter, which the experience of Political Officers may enable them to furnish, and as I have, as you are aware, spent the last twelve years of my service as such in this province, I venture to offer the following remarks.

3. Kattywar, from its isolated position, and having only a very small portion of its territory bordering on the British district, has not been so well able to observe the benefits of our rule as countries more fortunately situated.

4. Divided, as it is, moreover, into so many, and in some cases petty, principalities, it is difficult to procure statistics for the purposes required. With the exception of attachments imposed on States for various causes, which, by enabling us occasionally to have an improved management, and thus show the benefits of our rule, there are none I conceive bearing on the case that would be of material use, with the exception perhaps of the following.

5. By late orders of Government, the Rajpoot States of Rajkote and Limree, with annual revenues of about five lakhs collectively, have

been placed under British management, and here, although the time has been but short, it has been clearly shown that our rule is far more palatable to the mass of the population than the former Native rule. The abolition of forced labor monopolies and other vexatious taxes alone has given the people such relief that order and contentment now exist where formerly discontent and general complaint was the rule.

6. Again, the young Takhor of Veerpore, a Rajpoot, has had his State attached for a term of seven years, and placed under the direct management of the Agency, consequent on his complicity with Wagher outlaws. The revenues were but small, but now cultivators are flocking in and taking holdings, being assured of protection, and of obtaining equitable ratings, and that the new management will be one of mildness and justice.

7. In the same way, from experience I feel convinced that, as a rule, the working classes and the general mass of the Native population prefer British rule. The numberless complaints which in former years came before this Agency, and in which endeavours were made, where we consistently could do so, to induce the chiefs to give redress, clearly prove this. In almost every case, the harshness of Native rule, as compared with our own, was freely commented on, and not unfrequently urgent requests for us to take the management into our own hands openly made. Even of late years, since the concentration of power in the hands of the chiefs, this has been apparent. This measure, though, doubtless, one of policy and strict justice, has not tended to produce in my estimation that improvement in the interior management of States generally which we had reason to suppose it would. Cases of extreme hardship, subversion of agreements and arrangements entered into, frequently come before us, all of which go far to show that Native rule has by no means those attractions for all classes of the people which the late Secretary of State would appear to have been led to think it had.

I think, therefore, there can but be one opinion on this subject, and that the views which His Excellency the Viceroy holds are correct, and will be fully borne out from the information which he will receive from other sources.

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From MAJOR C. F. PRESCOTT, Superintendent, Revenue Survey, and Assistant in Guzerat, Acting Commissioner of Survey and Settlement, N. D., to the Under Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Poona, 15th August 1867).

In the absence of Colonel Francis, I have the honor of replying to your confidential Circular of the 1st of July regarding the general feeling of the Natives of this country towards British rule, and the comparisons they draw between it and Native Government.

I will, with your permission, premise by saying that so far as my experience goes, the feelings of the rich and the poor, of the landed proprietors and the commercial classes, of the Mussulmans and Hindoos, on the subject, are very different.

There cannot be a shadow of a shade of doubt that the masses are in every respect more prosperous and happy in British territory than in

Native States; but I doubt very much whether the rising generation (which has never experienced the bitter oppression of former days) really think so.

Even in the most prosperous districts where the people are contented happy, well-fed, well-clothed, and with all the evidence of plenty around them, they are apt to attribute whatever is evil to the *raj*, and whatever is good, not to the *raj*, but to the *dhurm*. Any rise in prices is the fault of the *raj*; any scarcity, the same; any new taxation is, not for the good of the people and the country, but only the means resorted to, to satisfy the greed of England for India's wealth.

It is the ignorance of the simplest economic and political doctrines which is their stumbling block. How can we really judge the feelings of a people who have not even the capacity to understand what the end of good government is, *e. g.*, a short time ago the Nawab of Cambay prohibited the export of grain from his territories, thinking by this means to bring down prices. All the poor people in our adjoining territory applauded the measure as a fine stroke of policy, and expressed surprised that our Government allowed a free export of grain during the whole of the season of high prices. I think, however, this feeling was confined to the low Mussulman population which seems to have no visible means of gaining a living. The agriculturists naturally enough accepted the high prices with great complaisance.

I must observe, with very great deference to Sir George Clerk and Lord Cranborne, that whether Native rule is preferred generally to British or not, my experience goes to prove that, if the poorer classes of agriculturists in the Native States under this Presidency could be made to believe *in the stability of our raj*, all who could would forsake their homes and come into our districts.

A very short time ago numbers of the Guikwar's subjects went to the Mamlutdar of the Chicklee district of the Surat Collectorate (from the neighbouring Guikwaree district of Gundevee) and begged to be allowed to settle there. I was there at the time, and they told me the oppression of their *raj* was unbearable. So determined were they to settle in our districts that a kharbaree of the Guikwar's was sent to reason with them and offer them terms, and it was after very considerable negotiation only that they were induced to return. The whole of British Guzerat is interlaced with Guikwaree territory, and I have had every opportunity of mixing freely with His Highness's subjects. The people are for ever hoping and praying that some turn of fortune may bring them directly under British rule, and I hear daily complaints of oppression, unjust assessments, intriguing kharbarees, and injustice of all kinds.

Those who do not know this country naturally enquire why, if there is this feeling, the people do not come to us whenever they can get a bit of land to cultivate; but those who *do* know India are well aware of the *wrench* it requires to separate a cultivator from his home, his village, his dearly-loved ancestral lands. What is oppression to him compared to the pain of seeing his fields in the hands of a stranger. The old mother says, dig up the bit of money that lies buried, and pay the exorbitant assessment; but never give up your land except with your life. The wife says, sell all we have, but don't leave your home.

The survey settlement of this Presidency has conferred on the ryots a vast property in land, and given them a security of tenure they *know* they never would have obtained under Native rule. They, therefore, to a man, love our *raj*; and it is a significant fact that, in all the Guikwar's districts adjoining our territory, *a revenue survey* on our principle has been introduced and is in progress. His Highness being thoroughly convinced of the prosperity and happiness of our ryots under that system, and fearing that a migration of his cultivators on a large scale into British districts is imminent.

In conclusion, I may relate (as an illustration of the discussions which are continually going on amongst the people as to the why and wherefore of certain acts of the British Government) a conversation I myself overheard betweeen two respectable Thakoors on the subject of the Disarming Act. Said one,—What does the *sirkar* mean by disarming respectable people? Will it make us more faithful, or like the *raj* better? To this the other replied,—Oh! it is not because they are afraid of us, or mistrust us, it is only because they want the *iron* to make railroads. Look (said he) that hundreds of miles of rails they are laying down, and if they don't collect and melt down all the arms they can get hold of, where is all this *iron* to come from!

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From SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, K. C. S. I. Resident Hyderabad to the Under-Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated 16th August 1867.)

I have the pleasure to reply to your letter of the 1st ultimo, touching certain opinions stated in Parliament by Lord Cranborne, regarding the relative popularity and superiority of British and Native rule in India.

Now to estimate the *popularity* of any sort of rule, is to gauge public opinion. To do this in a country like India is difficult, because the people are not inclined to outward manifestation, because they are never inclined to tell us point blank what they really think, and because they are seldom well qualified to offer sound conclusions on any large or complex question not coming under their immediate cognizance. I clearly recollect the late Mr. Thomason (then Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces) once explaining to me the perplexing and conflicting replies he used to receive, even from the best-informed Natives, on such general questions as the growth, or the decline, of the country in prosperity, and the like. He exclaimed once how little weight can be attached to opinions of individuals among the Natives on such subjects. I should, therefore, apprehend difficulty in *proving* any conclusion I might have on the popularity of British rule in India. I could only declare the impressions left on the mind by my own experience, and narrate such indications as may have been observable. And I fear that facts and statistics, in the strict sense, would not be available in regard to this point.

To estimate the *superiority* of British rule, is a much more feasible task. But here also many moral considerations would enter in, not easy of specific proof. There would, however, also be material and physical considerations on which facts and statistics could forcibly be brought to bear.

After this brief preface, I shall touch on each of the above branches of the subject.

As regards the popularity of British rule, I certainly believe that it is vastly preferred to Native rule by the mass (though not the whole) of the people.

I recollect in 1851-52, being employed as Settlement Officer in the Jullundur Doab, to arrange an exchange of a number of villages (for rectification of frontier) with the Kupoorthulla Rajah. On that occasion, the people of our villages, that had to go over to the Rajah, stoutly objected. And after the transfer had been accomplished, my recollection is that they still made their voices heard.

From 1853 up to 1860, I had various means of knowing the sentiments of the people of Cashmere. In a hundred ways, I understood that the Cashmere people lamented the severance of their country from the Punjab and its incorporation in the Jummoo State: that they felt the enviable condition of the Punjabees under British rule as compared with their own; that numbers were desiring to emigrate from Cashmere into British territory, so much so, that the Native Government was obliged to adopt stringent measures to prevent emigration; and that there was some degree of popular reproach against the British Government for having made over Cashmere to Goolab Singh. The flourishing condition of the colonies of Cashmere weavers at Umritsur, Jelalpore, and other places is probably in some part attributable to immigrants and recruits from Cashmere itself. By the above remarks, I mean no reflection on the policy whereby Cashmere was made over to an allied power, nor any aspersion on the Maharajah of that country. I merely allege that the people, in that case, entertained a much greater liking for British than for Native rule.

In 1864, I had to arrange for some extensive exchanges between British Nimar and the State of Maharajah Holkar. The Nimar people protested verbally in every mode and form against being transferred away from British rule. Those of the upper classes would take every opportunity of urging this.* The villagers would surround me as I marched, crying out and gesticulating in oriental fashion to give strength to their protest. This is the most salient demonstrable* instance that has ever come to my notice of the greater popularity of British rule as compared with Native.

From 1863 to 1867, in the Central Provinces, it came to my notice that for many years, that is since about 1820, there had been great immigration from Berar west of the River Wurdah into the Nagpore country east of that river,—Berar being under the Nizam, and scarcely at all affected by British interference, and Nagpore being under a Bhonsla sovereign with the British Resident as regent during a long minority. This immigration must have been very considerable, year

* One particular case was perhaps laughable. One day a chief was complaining, in a slightly unbecoming tone, that British Officers came to hunt and caused trouble to himself and his servants. I asked him if he would like to be transferred to Holkar as there was a proposition to that effect. Instantly his manner changed. Afterwards he came and entreated to remain under us, saying that if this could be only conceded to him, he would afford every accommodation to sportsmen; that the gentlemen would be most welcome, &c., &c.

by year, causing appreciable increase of cultivation and habitation in the Nagpore country. It ceased in 1854-55, when Berar became assigned to the British Government. And in succeeding years, there has been a strong reflux of the tide of immigration: the Berar families settled in Nagpore returning fast to their original province. undreds of individual farmers or tenants, and scores of agriculturist families, have left the Nagpore villages to reclaim their old lands in Berar, causing great inconvenience to the Nagpore landowners, not only in particular villages, but in whole circles of villages. Over and over again, in reply to enquiries about this counter-migration, have the people said that they crossed over to Nagpore because it was virtually British, and that they are going to cross back again into Berar, because it is now under British management. This broad fact will be found adverted to in the fiscal and settlement reports of that part of the Central Provinces. It seems to be a strong indication of the attachment of the people to British rule.

Since 1862-63, I have been acquainted with the territory on the left bank of the Godavery, transferred by the Nizam to the British. I have always understood from the people thus newly transferred that they much preferred our management to that which they had left. Indeed this is partly shown by the rapid improvement on the British side the river in some slight degree owing to immigration from the Nizam's side, notwithstanding the great improvements of late years in the interior management of the Deccan.

In 1863, I first knew Sumbulpore and have since been acquainted with it. That was a territory recently brought under our management. At first the people did not seem to like our rule at all better than the old system. But as soon as certain political complications were got rid of, and the people tasted of proprietary rights in land and of assured fiscal settlements, they felt a decided preference for our plan over any other they had ever known. Among the proofs of this may be cited the extraordinary advance which that rural district has made in education largely sustained by efforts of the people themselves.

I have not much personal acquaintance with the Raichore and Dharaseo districts, which were assigned by the Nizam to our Government, and after remaining under our management for several years, were retransferred to His Highness' government. But I certainly have understood, from Officers in a position to know, that the people much regretted the retransfer, and were full of apprehension. Such I believe was the fact at the time, though they have since not had any cause to lament, for the Nizam's civil government in that quarter has been well conducted.

I have, since 1862, known of eminent cases where British authority being planted on a piece of ground in the midst of Native dominion has caused a new population to cluster round it and monied and commercial interests to nestle, as it were, under its protection. Some forty years ago, Kamptee (near Nagpore) was a little village, utterly unknown; it became the station of a British force in the heart of Mahratta territory; of course regimental bazaars and markets sprung up; but these expanded into a town which has now sixty thousand inhabitants, receives annually nearly a million sterling worth of imported goods and produce, and is the most effectively rich

and prosperous place in all the Central Provinces. Now I have repeatedly understood on enquiry that the foundation of all this prosperity was immigration from the surrounding Native dominions. The fort and bazar of Seetabuldee were ceded by the Bhonslas to the British some 50 years ago; since then Seetabuldee has grown into a large town, full of artizans and monied bankers, the fundamental cause being the same as above. The same thing has occurred at Hyderabad. The ground of Secunderabad (the Military Cantonment) and of Chudderghaut (the British Residency) has for half a century been under British protection: before which period, both these places were non-existent. They have now an aggregate population of 70,000 souls. Their import trade alone must have a declared annual value of a million sterling: next after Hyderabad itself, they are the richest places in all the Deccan. This has happened under the British flag, right alongside of the Nizam's capital. It is largely (though not entirely) owing to the preference of Natives for British management.

These several instances seem to tell in favor of the superior popularity of British rule.* But in order that the argument may not be one-sided, some instances may be specified which do *not* point in this direction.

In 1850, I was employed in the Allahabad district, on the frontier of the Rajah of Rewah. In that tract, at that time, our rule was not more popular than that of the Rajah. The British villages had from various causes not been successfully managed. From 1854 to 1860 I had particular knowledge of the protected Sikh States, Cis-Sutlej. These are intertwined and interlaced among British districts supposed to be administered in our very best method. Yet I never knew any immigration from those States to our districts. The villages of the Puttiala and Jheend States especially were among the finest and happiest I have ever known, and seemed to be on a par with the choicest pieces of British territory. From 1863 to 1867, I have been acquainted with the British districts on the frontiers of the Native States of Bundelcund, of Sindhia, and Bhopal; and have never observed that the people preferred our management over that of the Native States. Indeed several tracts in that quarter had been unsuccessfully managed by the British, though we may hope that this has of late years been retrieved. I have recently observed evidence in the old Hyderabad records that after 1819, when the Peshwah's dominions in the Deccan were brought under British rule, our revenue settlements were in some districts not successful, and did not compare favorably with some of the Nizam's districts. This again was reversed; the British settlements were amended; and I find some British Residents at Hyderabad reporting that the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency afforded, in their wealth and contentment, the best possible model to the Nizam's Government. In 1864, I passed through the Baroda territory (the Guikwar's dominions); certainly that district, the valley of the Mhye, is in external prosperity hardly surpassed by any British district that I have ever seen at least. In the Deccan, of late years, the constitution, system, and principles of the Nizam's civil government are really excellent; this much is certain.

* I have not attempted to draw any illustrations from Oude, past and present, because you will have such excellent information at hand respecting this.

That the result must be more or less beneficial to the country is hardly to be doubted. Whether full effect is given to the intentions of His Highness's Government, throughout the Deccan, I cannot yet say; but independent testimony is constantly reaching me to the effect of great improvement being perceptible. Judging from the published reports, I should suppose that the Native administration in Travancore must be excellent. I believe, too, that the administration of the Gwalior country, when under the Minister Dinkur Rao, afforded a fair example of what Native rule can accomplish, and that it still continues good under the Maharajah Sindhia. I have, on the whole, a favourable opinion of the administration of the Nagpore country by the Mahratta sovereigns of the Bhonsla house. There were many excellent points about their rule; but some of these were owing to the care of British Officers such as Sir R. Jenkins, Colonel Wilkinson, and others. Other detached instances might doubtless be mentioned.

Further, in justice to Native rule, it should be said that, within the century of our supremacy, there have not only been good sovereigns, who are too well known to require mention here, but also good Ministers really capital administrators who have adorned the service to which they belong; such are Purneah of Mysore and Tautia Jogh of Indore, in the past; and Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Sir Dinkur Rao of Gwalior, Sir T. Madhava Rao of Travancore, in the present.*

These cases are adduced merely by way of giving my testimony on both sides of the large question which has been put. So far as they go, they seem to indicate that in many, perhaps the majority of cases, British rule is preferred by the people to Native. But this preference immediately ceases when, in any particular district, British administration falls into error, or declines below its generally high average. And certainly there are Native States, though of limited sphere, where the practical result comes out nearly as well as in the best British districts.

In this place, it will be proper to state most briefly my opinion as to which are the classes among the people of India who prefer, rightly or wrongly, British to Native rule; and which are the classes who prefer Native to British rule.

Those classes who prefer British to Native rule or supremacy are, I believe, the following :—

Firstly, the independent Native Sovereigns and Princes; this is proved by their conduct in 1857 and 1858. Next after our own national prowess, one of the main causes that carried British power through that crisis was the personal adhesion of such Princes as the Nizam of the Deccan, the Maharajah of Cashmere, the Maharajah of Puttiala, the Rajah of Jheend, the Maharajah Sindhia, the Begum of Bhopal, the Guikwar of Baroda, the Rajah of Rewa; one or two of the Rajpootana Rajahs and others. The services rendered by them personally at that time to the British cause were simply priceless. All this is ultimately attributable to their particular preference for our supremacy. They had but too much reason to anticipate our downfall; many influential sections of their own followers were bitterly opposed to us. If they themselves

* It must be observed, however, that both Sir Salar Jung and Sir T. Madhava Rao owe very much to the training they received from British Officers.

had hated us, if they had really wished to be rid of us, it is not to be supposed but that some of them would have turned against us. It was because they feared the consequences of our departure, because they thought themselves gainers by our presence rather than our absence, that they held to us.

In our own territories, the larger merchants and bankers, the monied and capitalist class generally, do, on the whole, prefer our rule as being the safer and steadier; though no doubt they get on very well under Native rule too. Some of the richest Native bankers and merchants are to be found at Jeypore in Rajpootana, at Indore in Malwa, at Hyderabad in the Deccan, all these places being of course under Native rule. Still these very men do, I believe, prefer British supremacy. So also in our own territories, the smaller merchants, bankers, traders, carriers, do greatly prefer our rule to any other they have ever known. Indeed it is sometimes urged, as a reproach to British rule, that either undue favor is shown, or else that undue advantages accrue to the last-named classes; however unfair such a reproach may be, still its existence shows that the prosperity of these people is a subject of notoriety and envy.

The great agricultural class in our own territories, on the whole, and with certain and occasional exceptions, decidedly and undoubtedly prefer our rule to any other. By this class are meant the members of the well-known village communities of all Northern India; the village proprietors of all Central India; and the ryots of all Southern and Western India: the ryots last named, being under the ryotwaree system, much like what are called peasant proprietors in Europe. To demonstrate this broad and important proposition would require more space than can now be afforded. I should rest the proof, firstly, on the virtual or declared recognition of a proprietary title in the land over and above the possession of the same—a recognition not so fully known under Native rule as British, and greatly prized by the people; secondly, on the limitation of the State demand for lengthened periods, this limitation being much more perfectly observed under British rule than Native; thirdly, on the fact of agriculture generally (though not universally) under British rule surpassing that under Native; fourthly, on the conduct of this class during the crisis of 1857 and 1858 having been (with many large and some notable exceptions) either friendly towards us or else passive. Had they, as a mass, disliked us, and had they turned against us, the remnant of a chance which we had at that time would have been cut off.* Further, the tenant or cultivator

* There were doubtless many grave exceptions in Oude, in the Doab of Hindoostan, and in other places. Some of the exceptions, however, will be found more apparent than real. The Goojur villages all round Delhi rose in May 1857, not for rebellion, but for plunder; the predatory instinct being ineradicable in that tribe. I learnt on the best authority that in Rohilcund it was the Mahomedan landholders who rose, and not the Hindoo The Hindoos, after suffering much at the hands of the Mahomedans during the interregnum which followed, sincerely rejoiced at the restoration of British authority. It has been said that the landholders in Hindoostan seized the opportunity of the disturbance to set fire to the records of the survey and settlement, in token of their dislike of those measures. This I believe to be quite a mistake. These records did indeed often perish in the general conflagration of all public Offices; this was the work, not of the landholders, but of the incendiary mob. On the contrary, it is the fact that, though these records were burned, duplicates were for the most part forthcoming afterwards, having been preserved in the villages.

class (in some provinces called ryots, but inferior in status to the ryots of Southern or Western India) prefer our rule to any other. Here again the British Government has sometimes been reproached with being even too attentive to this class; unfair as such reproach may be, it tends to corroborate the notion that this class must be in a state of notorious contentment.

Some of the greater landholders, such as the Zemindars of Bengal Proper, also prefer our rule immeasurably to any other. But this preference is probably not shared by all the larger landholders throughout India, to which point I will advert further presently.

The intellectual class, fast rising into consequence, do, I believe, on the whole prefer our rule to any other. This class is in the main created by the educational efforts of the British. Their sentiments can be known from the Native Press conducted either in the English or the Oriental languages and in these times multiplying so rapidly. Certainly this class is not blinded by any partiality for us; on the contrary, they criticise us even more narrowly and severely than our own English Press does; often indeed their criticism is captious and one-sided. Still in spite of all this they frequently, perhaps generally, evince an appreciation of the good points in our rule and of all the philanthropic efforts that are put forth; and I for one should certainly infer that, however much they may cavil and carp at us, they would by no means wish to change us.

I will now mention the classes who are doubtless opposed to our rule, some of whom are necessarily our enemies, not open to any conciliation that we could reasonably use.

First of these is the priestly class, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan throughout India. Many indeed among the Hindoo priesthood are satisfied with the State endowments assured to them by the British Government, and even appreciate the religious toleration they enjoy. But they must feel that, if British rule endures, their gradual decline, perhaps even their ultimate downfall, is only a question of time. They cannot but mark the change in the religious opinion of their countrymen caused by the national education introduced by the British. It were vain for us to flatter ourselves that the influence of this powerful class throughout India is not thrown into the scale against our popularity. Not to go too far back, I have known even within the last five peaceful years instances occurring on the average about once every two or three months, of seditious or treasonable productions, in all probability emanating from, or traceable to the Brahmin priesthood. This hostility is even stronger in the Mahomedan priesthood; with them it literally burns with an undying flame; from what I know of Delhi in 1857-58, from what I am authentically informed of in respect to Hyderabad at that time, I believe that not more fiercely does the tiger hunger for his prey than does the Mussulman fanatic throughout India thirst for the blood of the white infidel. All this may be very sad, but it is no use disguising a fact which is inevitable.

Next may be noted the military and political class comprising no only men of restless ambition, of violence, of intrigue adventurers, free-lances, marauders, loose characters of every description, but also

many men of a better,* though still dangerous, sort who feel cooped up and cramped, shut out from all chance of advancement, deprived of any scope for expanding energy either through our supremacy or through our direct sway. The employment which the British Government affords, by maintaining so great a Native Army, though very appreciable, does by no means satiate or carry off all the martial ardour, still less all the love of excitement, peculiar to these sections of the population. This class is on the wane slowly,† but still, including Mahomedans and Hindoos, it is strong and numerous all over India, both in British territory and in Native States. It is instinctively opposed to the British and to their Native Allies. No doubt during the last crisis it must have sorely tried the temper of the loyal Native Sovereigns and Princes previously mentioned.‡

Further, we must be prepared to find enemies of more or less intensity among the lesser Native Princes and Chiefs; and even among some of the Chiefs and larger landholders in the British territories. This enmity, so far as it may exist, is probably traceable to a variety of causes, special to the circumstances of each case. In some cases it may be capable of mitigation or of removal, in other cases it may be irremoveable. There were abundant instances of it in 1857-58, and whether it can ever be quite eradicated is doubtful.

Lastly, there is the mob, the canaille, the blackguardism of the whole population. This unfortunately great class is probably not partial to any Government. But it seems to hate the British most especially. It somehow does, in a manner very humiliating to us, attain a rank growth under our very shadow, and in the heart of our largest settlements. In a moment it would swell the numbers of our assailants; and it perpetrated many, if not most, of the atrocities in 1857. Wherever, too, there may be any considerable populace of the lower orders of Mahomedans, there we must look for a host of brutal and irreconcileable enemies. Their animosity is the more vivid from its being quite unreasoning, as it proceeds from no cause whatever, save national antipathy or political jealousy. The mob of Hyderabad in the Deccan furnishes really an awful instance of this: from all I have read and seen of it, I cannot, in a limited space, give any adequate description of such a seething, fermenting, fostering mass. In 1857 it was regarded by the then Resident as most formidable both in virulence and in numbers.

Such in brief are the items of credit and debit which I would enter in the great account of our national popularity in India. If the sum be cast up on both sides, I would fain hope that there would be found a good balance in our favor. In any general concussion of our power,

* The Deccannee Brahmins in the North and South Maharatta country afforded a strong instance of this in 1857.

† It has often been observed that the Hindoostan sepoys of these times are not like those who aided at the capture of Bhurtpore under Lord Lake; nor the Madras sepoys of to-day equal to those who defended Arcot under Lord Clive.

‡ It might here be noted that the Arabs and Rohillas, foreign mercenaries gradually introduced by successive Nizams into the Deccan, are not indeed so dangerous as they were, but still are very powerful and might prove a source of grave inconvenience in critical times. They are, however, diminishing year by year.

the influences that would spring up in array against us might be formidable enough; but the several conservative parties in the country, guided of course by our own prowess, might suffice to sustain us.

Further, in order again that my argument may not be one-sided, I would touch very briefly on the particular points where British rule is apt to be unpopular with our people, or less popular than Native rule. Our rule is known by all to be superior in system and principle. But then we are *occasionally* prone to be sharp, or harsh, or uncompromising, in execution, though we are admitted to be for the most part steady and sufficiently patient. But there is a flexibility pervading Native rule which Natives by their idiosyncracy like; and an inflexibility about our rule to which they can hardly be reconciled. They have an idea of our rule which we should express by its being too Procrustean. They look upon our procedures often as so many sledge hammers, or crushers, not to be withstood; whereas they know that a Native Government, even when bad, is seldom strong enough to annihilate by its stroke, and there is always a chance of parrying or avoiding the blow; thus the worst Native Governments sometimes possess the virtues of patience* and mildness in dealing with their subjects when they possess no other. In support hereof, Natives would probably adduce such instances as severe or strict enquiry into revenue-free privileges, (Enams, &c.); sale of estates in default of payment of land revenue; the enforcement of a fixed demand even in bad seasons, on the ground that there was no enhancement of demand in good seasons; the imprisonment of civil debtors; the sale of real property under decrees of Courts; the non-recognition of castes or class privileges in matters of law and justice; the imposition of legal penalties, incurred as much in carelessness or in thoughtlessness as from any intention to offend the law; the impartial, unbending, sometimes almost frigid and unsympathetic demeanour observed alike to all, rich and poor, gentle and simple; the prevention or prohibition of petty nuisances, measures which may be necessary enough for public health and order, but which many people regard as vexatious; the withdrawal from all attempt to amuse the senses or stimulate the imagination of the public, and many other instances. Now some of these things, of which the Natives seem inclined to complain, are not faults at all; some even are merits, while some are really faults which we should strive to amend. But in *all* of these and other cognate cases our practice is very different from, or the reverse of, the practice of Native Governments. In some instances perhaps the British Government may and will modify its course; in others would not make any change even if it could.†

* This was one of the few redeeming qualities in Chundoo Lal, who was Minister of the Hyderabad State for 30 years, and who exemplified, unfortunately, most of the pernicious faults to which Native administrators are prone.

† I have consulted the Nizam's Minister, Sir Salar Jung, K. C. S. I., whose loyalty and ability are so well known on the points mentioned in this paragraph. He said that he has for years heard every one of these topics of complaint urged by Natives against the British Government; and that some of these very things have been often urged by them against his own Government, whenever he has attempted reforms, especially judicial reforms. He said, too, that a Native nobleman, even when quite disposed to act justly and properly, always hates the notion of subjection to any law or rule, and enjoys the sense of being able to do just what he pleases. This sort of man instinctively chafes at the restraints of British rule; not because these are galling or hurtful, but merely because they are restraints.

There are also one or two cardinal points wherein the British Government might, and probably will, do more than it has heretofore done, to the advantage of the country and to the increase of its own popularity. Last year there appeared a thoughtful article (the author is not known to me) in the *Calcutta Review* on the Native Press. It declared, on an analysis of the outspoken sentiments of their own Press, that the Natives did not really complain of some evils which we Europeans so often lament in our own system, such as corruption in our Police, inefficiency in our Courts of justice, and the like; evils which the Natives know but too well to spring from themselves, and not to be attributed to us. But it classed their complaints under two main heads; first, that the British Government does not sufficiently associate in its administrative system the Native gentry and the more respectable classes; second, that the British Government does not allot to Natives an adequate share of public patronage, and does not promote them sufficiently to lucrative offices in their own country. The shortcoming in the latter respect was pronounced to be particularly dangerous, inasmuch as State education was rearing up swarms of intellectual men, whose aspirations would never be satisfied by the narrow field now open, and who would be compressed into discontent unless some expansion was afforded.* All this seemed to me to be but too true. In the first respect, progress has of late years been made by the gracious distribution of honors among Natives by the Crown, by the admission of Natives to the Legislative Councils, by their appointment as Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Commissioners, and the like. In the second respect, the admission of Natives to the Covenanted Civil Service; their appointment to the Bench of the High Courts; the raising the status of the Native Bar; the increase to the emolument of the judicial employés, of the Police officials, of the ministerial subordinates, and the like, have done considerable good. But in both respects very much remains to be done. And it has been thought by many (and as I believe by the late Sir Henry Lawrence) that the increase of emoluments ought to be extended to the Native officers of the army.

A remark seems here called for, regarding the opinion of the Natives as to the conduct of the British Government in respect to religious matters. The toleration, which we both practise and enforce in favor of all creeds and sects alike, has always been, and is still, considered by the Natives to be one of the strong points in our position. The priestly classes do indeed recognise the ultimate and inevitable tendency of our moral influence and of the example afforded by our very presence; and they must dislike us accordingly. But this feeling does not extend much beyond these classes. In 1857, and for a short time previous to

* On both these points also I have consulted Sir Salar Jung; he says that these complaints are of great importance; that he has known them repeated in a variety of forms and shapes, and that he heard them often discussed in the trouble period of 1857. He specified some of the honors and emoluments to which Natives may attain under their own rule, but from which they are debarred under British rule. He used to hear it asked how it was that such foreign rulers as Aurungzebe, far more violent and troublesome than the British ever were, who did wrongs such as the latter had never ventured to do, did not excite such animosity as seemed to rage against the British in some quarters. He thought that the answer might partly be found in this, namely that none of our predecessors ever were so utterly foreign to the country as we are; that, with all their faults they settled among, and amalgamated themselves with, the people, which we, with all our virtues, can never do. This *he* seems to think is the most insuperable of all the objections against our rule.

that date, an impression had been spreading that the British, departing from their old policy, were compassing the supersession of other creeds by their own. This was the fear that found vent in the celebrated cartridge case. Since 1857 this fear, though alive in the minds of some classes, seems to have subsided in the minds of the population at large. And I am not aware at this moment of any such apprehension generally existing.* Nevertheless, I believe, that Natives always have complained, and do still complain, however wrongly, of certain parts in the proceedings of the various Christian Missionaries. They do not mind the Missionaries having worship in churches, or teaching in schools. But they object to Missionaries preaching in public; they sometimes say, that wherever there is a crowd in the streets, or a holiday meeting or a gathering for a fair or a festival, there will be found a Missionary preaching; and this they regard as unreasonable and aggressive. And they add that the Government by allowing this, by remaining silent, and by protecting the Missionaries in their sacred calling, virtually affords encouragement.† However wrong these ideas may be, they are entertained by numbers among the Natives. And those who make the complaint are the more annoyed, in that they cannot help reflecting that wherever a Missionary does preach, there is sure to be a multitude thronging round to listen, which shows that whatever some Natives may think, there are many others of them who wish to hear the tidings of the Gospel. Herein, of course, the British Government will never make any change in its conduct. On the other hand, the Natives generally do not dislike, but rather like, to see the Missionaries teaching in schools. Whether it is that they are not at all afraid of their children being converted by the Missionaries, I will not pronounce. But this is certain that they are always won by the kindness, the courtesy, the patience, and the aptitude of the Missionaries for the instruction of youth. And thus it is that Missionary schools are always popular with the Natives.

In a matter such as the above, the British Government must of course do what it believes to be right, even notwithstanding that politically such conduct might detract from our popularity with the Natives. But I do not think that the proceedings and presence of the Missionaries do really weaken us politically; but that on the contrary, we rather gain politically thereby. For without doubt, the self-denying irreproachable demeanour of the Missionaries of all denominations, the spirit of catholic charity evinced by them, produce a deep impression on the minds of Orientals, and raise our national character in the estimation of the Natives.

Superadded to all this, there is difference of race, religion, temperament, and disposition between us and them, which must tell somewhat against us in their estimation; though certainly, in many respects, both sides are mutually tolerant, we of them and they of us. With some classes of the people, the feeling of personal loyalty to the Sovereign is intense. I could recall many instances of this. Before me, now at

* Sir Salar Jung assures me that he is not aware of any such apprehensions now existing; he adds that the recent discussions about the Converts' Re-marriage Act (of which one case has occurred at Hyderabad) did not occasion remark in this part of India.

† Sir Salar Jung informs me that about no subject has he more often heard complaints on the part of the Natives against the British Government than about the public preaching of Missionaries.

Hyderabad in the Deccan, there is one of the strongest cases in point. The veneration felt for the person and office of the Nizam seems boundless. Though no Native Sovereigns in India can be more secluded, uninformed, and even bigotted, than the successive Nizams have been, yet even these Princes must have about them some kingly qualities, some tincture of statecraft, in order to inspire awe and maintain personal prestige as they have done. The British Government can hardly hope to command sentiments of this kind. It can never create the endless ties which bind a good Native Prince to his natural-born subjects. The State pageantries (Durbars), which have at various times been conducted by the Governor General, have on the whole done much good; and the practice might be carried even further with advantage on the part of all British officials. Also Exhibitions of art, industry, and agriculture produce an excellent effect morally and socially, irrespective of their material effect. On the other hand, I doubt whether the agricultural and rural classes in the interior have much, if any, sentiment of this kind. They have for ages been habituated to obey the ruler of the day; they perceive keenly enough the difference between a good ruler and a bad one, and they regard him according to his conduct rather than the prestige or traditions attached to him.

Again, the overshadowing and universal character of our rule and supremacy operates prejudicially to our popularity. While the renowned English Company was one out of many competitors in the field of conquest, while it was struggling with others for existence, it had its followers and adherents who fought under it, and clung to it faithfully. When it succeeded in one quarter after another, its adherents rejoiced that they had sided with it; all men courted it and sought its friendship. But when that success spread, and gradually enveloped the whole Peninsula, then all men began to fear and to wonder whom the conqueror would devour next. From the day that the British Government became the acknowledged Paramount power in India, a new kind of danger, not previously felt, came into existence. This was predicted at the time in the Metcalfe despatches and in Malcolm's reports on Central India, in language that now reads, almost as if prophetic. It was never fully realized till 1857, though most formidable, it was not insurmountable, for it was, under Providence, actually surmounted.

The State education in India has caused, and is causing, among other things, a vast diffusion of geographical knowledge and to some extent of political information. In hundreds of thousands of schools the boundaries of France and of Russia, the situation of America, and the like, are being taught daily. In thousands of schools, even further instruction is afforded, wherefrom some notion, however dim, will be formed of the relative resources of the Great Powers. In the event of any future European war or complication seriously involving Great Britain, we must be prepared for the people of India having a far nicer appreciation of the crisis than they have ever before had on similar occasions. This need not necessarily tell against us; it might even tell for us; but were it to militate against us, then we might apprehend a combination of intrigue, of influence, or of overt resistence, on the part of all the dangerous classes already described, with a rapidity and effect greater even than in former disturbances.

In justice to ourselves, it must, however, be observed that at all periods there have been individual British officers of the highest position,

and the widest influence, who have exactly seen which tendencies in our system would prove dangerous, which peculiarities in the national character on one side would be distasteful to the Natives, and which idiosyncracies on their side would alienate them from us. And these eminent persons have always striven to apply a sedative or corrective process, and their example must have often smoothed down difficulties. Such men in the past were Shore,* Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Metcalfe; or Munro, Malcolm, and Henry Lawrence. In the present time there are of course many such, and it may be hoped that there always will be in the future.

Before quitting this part of the subject, I would just note the points which Natives most admire or wonder at in the British political character. Their respect for our physical power and energy is too obvious to need remark. But besides that, they generally recognize in our countrymen certain qualities which they believe themselves to be not possessed of, and which contribute to render us, in their estimation, almost invincible. These opinions may be summed up thus. They think, firstly, that we have an aptitude for combination, for obedience to general discipline, which in time of danger or emergency makes us all of one mind ("ek-raee," as they phrase it); secondly, that we have a spirit of enquiry, of always being on the search for matter of practical moment ("tuhqueeq-o-tufteesh," as they phrase it); thirdly, that we have a sagacious farsightedness ("doorundeshee," as they phrase it), which causes us to shape our conduct with an ultimate aim, not fully perceptible to Orientals; fourthly, that we have a heedlessness ("be-purwaee," as they phrase it) in a high sense, that is, a heedlessness of danger, labor, trouble, separation from home and family, and countless other inconveniences, whenever any important end is in view.†

I now come to the second division of the subject, namely, the superiority of British over Native rule. It must be to this that you allude when you speak of the concentration of statistics from all parts of India. Herein I would base my conclusion mainly on the demonstrable prosperity of the people.

On this head it is probably not necessary to advert to many of the most obvious features of civilization created by the presence of the English in India. Such are the barbarous customs abolished; the external order introduced; the many kinds of crimes repressed; the extraordinary system of registration of lands and tenures throughout the Peninsula, in elaboration probably not surpassed at any period or in any country; the thousands of miles of roads constructed, or of railways opened; the hundreds of miles of canals; the net work of electric telegraphs; the many millions spent by the Government on Public Works; the many more millions of British capital invested in the country, and the like. These of course would never be lost sight of if any complete comparison were to be instituted; and they could not have been secured without British rule.

As to general statistics, I am not in a position to afford them being here at Hyderabad in the heart of foreign territory. But the figures of

* Mr. Shore's notes on Indian affairs contain one of the most searching and severe analyses ever made on our shortcomings in this country.

† Sir Salar Jung in reference to this reminded me of a pointed speech to this effect made by the late Nizam to General Low in 1856, adding that this speech correctly interpreted the Native idea.

the trade of India are immediately available to you, and what better statistical proof can be had than this? This trade is increasing in value by scores of millions in every decade, and will ultimately be computable by hundreds of millions. It arises mainly from British rule and from the British connection. One remarkable benefit which India receives from British rule, and which she could not have received to any thing like the same extent under Native rule, consists in the vast amount of her produce which England takes off her hands, whereby an immense market for her industry is opened, and whereby the culture of many important staples has either been introduced or augmented, to an extent which would not have been attained under any save British rule. Such are cotton, sugar, fibres, oil-seeds, tea, coffee, indigo, and others.

In connection with this, the wonderful growth of the three Presidency cities might be adduced; Bombay having a population of something under a million souls, and Calcutta and Madras something under half a million each, the aggregate of the three being probably about one million and three quarters. These several centres are entirely created by British rule. They represent not a localized prosperity, but an industry and wealth which permeate the whole country. It is for the sake of the Calcutta sea-port that the Ganges and the Burhumpooter are crowded with fleets of boats, and that the floating cities of boats at Serajgunge and Naraingunge up-country do really exist. It is for the sake of the emporium at Bombay that the cotton agencies are spread all over the villages in the interior of Central India.

I fear that you could not obtain statistics generally of increase of population and of agriculture, though both must have increased much in many places. In many, even most, parts of India sufficient care was not taken at the outset of British rule to secure a census of the population. If such measures had been adopted in the beginning, their results would now be infinitely valuable for comparative purposes. In the North-West Provinces, which were among the first to set an example in this respect, the last census shows that there has been a slight decrease in population since the troubles of 1857. Before that period, the population was increasing. As it is, however, a great increase of cultivation could be statistically proved. Probably similar proof could be obtained for the Punjab generally. I understand that some striking instances could be found in the Derajat and other parts of the Punjab Trans-Indus frontier. Oudh will so readily suggest itself to you that I need not allude to it further. In Bengal Proper there certainly has been a great increase; whether this could be statistically proved I am not sure; but it could be shown in general terms, and especially in such districts as Mymensingh, Jessore, Backergunge, and the 24-Pergunnahs. In Madras and Bombay the revenue survey records will show specifically great increase of cultivation. In the Central Provinces the settlement reports of the Nerbudda Valley (the Hoshungabad district particularly) will show that most of the wonderful wheat culture now visible had either sprung up or been resuscitated during British rule, the country having been formerly ruined by a lengthened period of Native misrule. In Berar the astonishing rise of cultivation during the few years of British administration is shown by the figures of our annual reports. The rapid growth of British Burmah is attested by the facts recently published in the *Gazette of India*.

On the other hand, I do not know of any case of permanent diminution, either in population or agriculture, in British territories, to set off

against the numerous cases of increase. There have of course been temporary losses from famine and calamities, but these are always repaired. Thus it is reasonably demonstrable that there must have been very considerable increase of population, agriculture, and commerce, under British rule. This increase is greater far than any growth which has occurred in Native States in the same period, or than would have occurred had the territories, now ours, continued under Native rule. However good the Hindoo rule may have been before the advent of the Mahomedans, or however well the Mahomedans may have managed in some places, and in some times, yet there can hardly be a doubt that Native rule had been getting worse and worse during a long period preceding the establishment of British power; and had become absolutely bad, not only here and there, but in a large proportion of cases. This is the way in which the ruin of ancient works of public utility—a ruin so often spoken of as visible to this day—did really occur.

As a proof of the depth to which Native rule did sometimes descend, I would refer to passages scattered all over Malcolm's Central India, and referring to most parts of Malwa; also to the papers about Nimar printed by the Government of the North-West Provinces. Of course Sleeman's reports on Oudh will readily suggest themselves to you. I see from the Hyderabad records that the Balaghaut ceded districts (Bellary, &c.) had suffered terribly from misrule before coming into our possession. The records of the Lahore Secretariat will furnish many tragical particulars of outrages at Bhawulpore and Mumdote on the Sutlej. If required, I could produce from the Hyderabad Residency records a terrible crop of evils and abuses during the last half century, consisting of street fights, with great loss of life, of insolent oppression by foreign janissaries, of sanguinary contests between neighbouring landholders, of overt unabashed venality, of persistent peculation, and of extraordinarily audacious crimes, though happily these things are of the past and have during recent years been ably remedied. Again, judging only from the published accounts and not from any personal knowledge, I believe that some very sad instances have occurred of late years in one or more of the States of Rajpootana. Without the least desire to disparage Native States, I think it is necessary to advert to these matters if any comparison is to be made. Without at all denying that some evils may and do occur equally under British as Native rule, it may be affirmed that these particular flagrant evils above described do *not* happen under British rule; and that territories on coming under us are always immediately freed from such evils.

Further, the almost invariable increase of the public income, which has occurred in each successive province annexed to the British Empire, may be adduced in favor of British rule as compared with Native. The assumed revenue of each province was given at the time of the cession, and will be found doubtless in the records of the Indian Foreign Office. Now, if you were to compare the *then* revenue thus ascertainable with the present revenue easily ascertainable, you would, I believe, find that in Bengal, of which the "Dewance" was made over to Lord Clive, in the Hindoostan districts ceded by the Nawab Vizier, in the southern districts taken in charge by Sir T. Munro, in the Peshwahs' districts made over to Mountstuart Elphinstone, in the Punjab country taken from the kingdom of Runjeet Sing, in the Burmese districts

shorn from the Empire of Alompra, there has been a great progressive increase of the State income. In most cases the British officers begin in the same way; they repeal many Native taxes; the land tax which they retain they assess lower than before; by degrees they put on a few taxes of an indirect character; the ultimate result being great fiscal gain. The profit partly arises no doubt from fiscal skill; but it is in a large degree attributable to the flourishing state of the people under our system.

I would here add three instances within my recent knowledge. The Hyderabad Assigned Districts were made over to us in 1861 at an estimated value of 32 lakhs (£320,000) annually. Their total public income, including general revenue and local funds, now stands at Rs. 62 lakhs or £620,000, showing an increase of 93¾ per cent. in seven years. The Central Provinces, more than half consisting of recent acquisitions, had in 1862 an annual income aggregating something over 80 lakhs or £800,000, whereas they have now something over 120 lakhs or £1,200,000. The Balaghaut ceded districts (Bellary, &c.) had at the cession a declining and broken down revenue which was hardly thought at the time likely to cover the cost of the subsidiary Force; they have now Rs. 53,52,060 or £535,206; so notorious is the fact of great increase in the latter case, that the Nizam himself has more than once reminded us of it during the course of territorial negotiations.

Under British rule the prices of every thing, necessaries and luxuries, have advanced steadily; of late years, too, with a progressive ratio of speed. In many, if not in all, parts of the country wages have risen, not always proportionately, but still very much. In some few districts the peasanry have outrun the working power of rural goldsmiths in the demand for ornaments; it is ordinarily believed that every peasant has buried coin under his hearthstone; in some instances, there are stories of ryots making a plough, or a cart-wheel, of silver, by way of boast; these stories may be exaggerated, but their currency shows the bent of popular opinion. In many, perhaps even most, districts full evidence could be obtained to the effect that the people are better housed and better set up than in former days; better furnished, too, with all domestic utensils, so much so that it is a common saying that the earthern vessels have been converted into brass vessels. I know, on the other hand, no instance of permanent decay in any broad area or district under British rule; famines and other calamities occur, but the districts recover. In any European country the rise of prices perpetually advancing is held to be a proof of national prosperity. The same proof is applicable to India. Now this has happened under British rule to an extent never known in any preceding period, and of which Native rule affords no examples.

Though the British Government has been at infinite pains to perfect its judicial system, still the most thoughtful of its officers are hardly satisfied with the result, but as a test of growth in wealth, the increase of litigation, both as respects number and value of suits, may be adduced. If you can obtain the figures for even some of the Indian provinces many years back, and compare them with those of the present day, a remarkable result would probably be adduced, indicative of material progress in India under British rule. For our more recent acquisitions, especially the non-regulation provinces, this point can be conclusively made out.

By the exertions of the British Government, European medical science has been largely diffused throughout India, and will be still further diffused. Hereby much physical benefit has accrued and will continue to accrue more and more. Also sanitation, both in theory and practice, is being carried on throughout the British territories. It may not have yet advanced much beyond the stage of infancy; but it is already accomplishing great things. In no respect is the external contrast between British and Native rule more remarkable than in the aspect of great cities. Let the cities and towns in the interior of India under British rule be compared from a sanitary point of view with what they once were, or with what similar places still are under Native rule, and then some idea can be formed of the material advantages which British rule (despite admitted shortcomings in this respect) does really confer on the urban population.

I would not lay too much stress on the introduction of English piece goods among the whole people of India (which is, however, a cardinal fact), because it gradually extinguishes many indigenous manufactures. It is of course most beneficial nevertheless.

Nor would I urge too strongly the prosperity of the monied classes under British rule (though this is also a large fact). For I find that this class flourishes greatly under Native rule. Sometimes the abuses of a bad Native government foster unduly this very class, by borrowing money and forestalling the revenues. In the worst days of the Hyderabad State the bankers enjoyed an inflated and unnatural prosperity. Of late years this has been reduced as a consequence of improved government.

I would not make too much of the very large and increasing sum expended under British rule by the Natives for public improvements and for charity. This good practice existed and exists largely under Native rule.

The above considerations point on the whole to the superiority of British over Native rule in respect to the material and physical welfare of the people. The following considerations will point to its superiority in respect to moral progress.

Primarily the efforts of the British in India, in the direction of national education, have been really vast of late years. Even, if in a discussion of this sort, it be not permissible to advert to religious considerations, still the teaching and educating power of the protestant Missionary bodies of all denominations, as probable by statistics, amounts to a mighty agency. Evidence of the great change passing over even the religion of the people at such places as Calcutta, Bombay, Benares, within the last quarter of a century is, I should suppose, readily obtainable. In the southern parts of the Peninsula the organization of the Roman Catholic churches is truly wide-spread; sum of those facts might be stated without difficulty. The noble results of protestant Missionary enterprises among the Karen population of Burmah have been too recently before the public to require any further allusion here. Now all these moral benefits are, under Providence, owing to British rule.

State education was extremely weak and backward (even if it existed at all) under Native rule. It has, of late years especially, been brought out with powerful auspices, and on a large scale under British rule. Let the number of schools and scholars, either maintained, assisted,

or inspected, by the agency of the British Government throughout India, be counted up and totalled. The result, however far it may fall short of the needs of the population, will yet be appreciably great and *pro tanto*, it will be a proof of the moral superiority of British over Native rule. No Native Government would even have thought of or compassed an undertaking of this magnitude.

Native literature, whatever it may have been in the olden time, had languished, had well nigh died out, for a long period before the introduction of British rule. Now, although in these days there is still a want of *original* native literature in India, still literature of a certain sort is becoming rich and abundant. Let the number of Native newspapers now published in India, of native educational works brought out annually, the literary works published annually by Natives, be even approximately counted up, and then some estimate can be formed of the mental industry, the intellectual efforts among the Natives as stimulated by our system. Let the returns of books annually sold to the native youth in the many provinces of India be collected; and then the diffusion of knowledge may be somewhat understood. Here again, these results are owing to British rule.

Thus I make out that despite shortcomings admitted to the full, British rule in India is demonstrably superior to Native rule. If this be truly so, then we may be sure that the Natives do, on the whole, like it the best of the two. When they are well off, they are certain sooner or later to know it in their hearts, though they be not externally demonstrative. National prejudices are strong with some, or with many perhaps; but with the mass these will naturally yield to self-interest. In *part* (but not whole) proof of the greater *popularity* of our rule, therefore, I would allege its indisputable superiority.

I am not without fear that this letter may be too long, and may fatigue the Viceroy. But I have endeavoured to state my evidence for His Excellency's information, as well as I could on this somewhat complex and difficult question.

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Observations by COLONEL H. D. DALY, Officiating Political Agent, Gwalior, on the method of government pursued in Native States, with a few references on the estimation of the system of British Administration in India by its people,—(Dated Gwalior, 21st August 1867).

The State machinery of Gwalior has been modelled on that in force in British territory. Courts of Law, Justice, and Revenue are separately constituted. The regulations for the guidance of these Courts and the general administration were compiled by Dinkur Rao, and embody in simplicity the main principles of our own system.

2. During Dinkur Rao's Dewanship this machinery was administered with an attempt at purity. That period exists no longer.

3. The Maharajah is paramount in all matters of State, and exercises control in every Court. No material award is passed on any case without his sanction, which is more dependent, it is generally believed, on His Highness's estimation of the individual concerned than of the merits of the matter at issue.

4. If a party in a suit, civil or criminal, shall have sided with Dinkur Rao during the mutiny, his fate is sealed. For him there is neither justice nor compassion. This is so well understood in Gwalior, that when Dinkur Rao visits the capital, scarcely does a man of note dare to recognize him.

5. The Court of Appeal from the Courts below is presided over by the Dewan and Pundit Hirnath. The Dewan is old and feeble. The Pundit keen and unscrupulous, educated in an English school; he is familiar with our language and habits. He was Dinkur Rao's Secretary and in his confidence; his present high position is mainly due to the betrayal of that confidence.

6. In 1861 Hirnath was deprived of the Naib Dewanship by the Maharajah for extortion committed during an investigation into adacoity, and his associate, named Moolchand, was imprisoned for six months in the jail, or so sentenced. A Court in which Hirnath is the working authority needs no description. It is said that it is not unusual for a party in a suit to secure the fiat of the High Court before the case has been even disposed of by the Court below.

Sir R. Shakespear, then Agent, Governor General, wrote a congratulatory khureeta to the Maharajah on his justice in thus punishing the oppressors of his people.

7. Moolchand, the accomplice in the extortion, has been lately appointed Kotwal of the capital, an office of emolument and trust.

8. The Appeal Court is held twice a week in the Dewan's house; in important cases the place of assembly is the Maharajah's Palace.

9. Stamp fees are levied in various stages of a suit, and form a handsome item in the treasury receipts.

10. I will illustrate the value of the Court's decrees when execution only remains. A few days ago I observed an old man with a paper waiting for me in a verandah, which is unfrequented by servants or chupprassees. His joy at thus seeing me alone was tearful: he thought his long anxiety at an end. The tale was this: Months ago, after a lengthened struggle and heavy expenditure, he obtained from the Court of Appeal a decree for Rs. 1,200 and upwards against a man in high employ. After waiting in vain for execution, finding petitions to others of no effect, he carried one on illuminated paper to Agra for the Viceroy at the last Durbar. The other day this was returned to him with a memorandum or endorsement by the Under Secretary, Mr. Wyllie, consigning the petitioner to the Political Agent. Thus the poor worn-out old man thought his cause won. After hearing the tale of his trials I asked, "Is yours a singular case?" "Singular," he shouted, "there are hundreds in my position." Of course I failed in making him understand that the Chief was the referee in matters arising out of his own Courts, and that the Political Agent was prohibited from interference; but he knew how utterly hopeless was his case.

11. The foregoing would be incomplete without a remark or two upon one who, from behind the scenes, greatly sways in Gwalior. This is Lalla Sheollee—Scindia's own newswriter—a few years ago a small trader in Delhi, now one of the rich men of the Lushkur; his emissary is in every office; no official escapes him; the Police posts are under him; every Sobah and men greater than Sobahs pay him tribute.

12. Colonel Sutherland, Resident of Gwalior, remarked in his tour in Malwa in 1837 that Native Governments fear to trust their officers with power: the superior is watched by the inferior. Time has brought no change in this respect. Should the Sirsobah, or Governor of the Province, intercede to prevent extortion or oppression on the part of the Sobah, the latter, who is always in direct intercourse with the Court, reports that the interference has prevented the realization of the revenues: the order goes forth for the Sirsobah to desist. Thus the Sirsobah is helpless, for he can neither appoint nor discharge an Amil.

13. On the other hand, should the Sirsobah fraternize in the work of spoliation, as was done in Esaghur three years ago, and the oppression wreck the revenue, the Maharajah is no longer deaf to the cries. He made a tour through the district; people thronged to his camp; petitions were piled in heaps. Inquiry ensued; the guilt of the Sirsobah was established, and his suspension ordered, with a heavy fine for the benefit, not of the stript ryots, but of the Maharajah's treasury.

14. A Revenue Sobah is rarely discharged for fraud or oppression. Should the receipts of his district show symptoms of weakness, he is suspended and ordered to the capital there to be put through the sieve. Time rights this, and he is given a fresh field. Scindia himself thinks little of a man being detected in fraud or bribery. He does not conceal his opinions on this point that to remove a servant for such a cause is but to give another an opportunity of doing the same. Then, again, Sobahs who have made money, readily pay money, contract for nuzzuranas, &c., and prepay the amount.

15. Colonel Sutherland, in 1837, described Esaghur, Bhilsa, and Malwa as desolate and miserable. Thirty years have brought no change for the better. Travellers still go armed to the teeth, and in many places the man at the plough has a sword by his side. Traders going from village to village are not safe without an armed Bheel or Sondia.

16. To men accustomed to see districts under British rule such a statement must seem fabulous. It is necessary to live and move in Native States to know the nature of the system under which they exist.

17. The comparison between their method of administration and our own is as St. Giles to St. James.

18. What is understood by Government in civilized countries has no place in any Native State unconnected with us so far as my experience and knowledge go. In Europe it is said that happy accidents occur in despotisms. Such accidents are unknown in the East; there is neither security of person nor property. Men are seized at the instance of any man in power, imprisoned without charge, discharged without trial. There is no record of mortality. Death by foul means would only excite inquiry in the event of money being forthcoming to prosecute it; more money, and the question is stifled. These things are well known. Petitions have often reached me setting forth false imprisonment: murder unnoticed.

19. A Political Agent has no authority to institute inquiries into such matters; probably the State makes no returns to him of crime or casualty. If in a friendly manner he moved in a case laid before him, every effort would be used to stifle his purpose.

20. I may here remark that Scindia himself views his own administration as infinitely superior to that of any other Native State; as he does everything himself, he considers everything done well. The fullness of his treasury is his test of successful administration, and no official changes or receives a post without paying nuzzurana, and no doubt the amount of this has great weight in settling the candidate's suitability.

21. As to the comparative estimation by the people at large, and whether their prosperity and contentment are best promoted under British or Native rule, what, let me ask, would cause greater dismay in districts which for years have been under us than the announcement that they were about to be transferred to a Native State,—Scindia or Holkar for instance?

22. Political Officers who have lived amongst Chiefs and Thakoors under our guarantee know well the effect of such a threat; whatever the contumacy, it is succeeded by extreme humility; for well they know, without our intervention, the sunnuds they hold are worthless. During late years circumstances have rendered it desirable to effect exchanges of land between the British Government and Scindia: our endeavour has always been to maintain the rights intact of those transferred by us with their land. The Agent, Governor General, well knows the failure of these efforts and the distress which ensues—wails break forth of confiscations and broken pledges. Within the last few days petitions, which I know to be true in their purport, have reached me on this point; but I have never known an instance of discontent on the part of a ryot transferred by the Durbar. He has got a fixed lease or settlement in lieu of fixed uncertainty.

23. It has been said that where the frontiers of Native States intermingle with those of British territory, people pass from our border to theirs, but not from theirs to ours. With a class no doubt this is true. Wherever there is much intermixing of frontier lines, predatory bands, hereditary dacoits congregate; their livelihood, from generation to generation, has been plunder. The people amongst whom they live seem to sympathize with them; for, under a Native Government, resistance to their depredations would be useless. From the chief there is no hope; the marauders pay black mail to him for their footing, and no village official is without a share of the spoil which is gathered from afar. When British rule closes on such frontiers, these tribes pass over to the protecting State. This is the class whose tastes lead them to quit the land in which their occupation is gone; but time, when it carries with it order and security, is too much even for these lawless gangs, as is seen in the North-West and the borders of the Terai. Broad tracts which, a few years ago, were given over to dacoits and wild beasts, are now quickly tilled and dotted about with comfortable villages.

24. I have already made these observations longer than I ought to have done, but the subject bursts with fullness. Let me cast a glance at Malwa. What has caused Scindia's cities of Ojein and Mundisore year by year to lose wealth, importance, and population? Mundisore is in the very heart of the poppy fields, on the banks of a noble river; yet many of its streets are in ruins and its name is declining.

Ojein, that ancient city, venerated by all Hindoos with the Seepra flowing by its walls and rich land around, is crumbling to the ground and being yearly deserted by merchants and men of business. Scindia's Naib Dewan, in his report of his late tour in Malwa, describes villages in ruins and much plundering and desolation.

25. On the other hand, why are Rutlam and Jowra, comparatively insignificant States, increasing in wealth and prosperity? *Because it has chanced to them to fall under British protection.* With the last 40 years, through the heirs of both States being infants on accession, the supervision was assumed by Major Borthwick, one of Malcolm's assistants. Rutlam was then in a small way, what Mundisore is now, losing importance. Borthwick delivered over his charge when the time came. Rutlam, a busy handsome city, filled with merchants and traders, prosperity everywhere, in the treasury and in the villages, for he had made a land settlement which gave contentment to the people.

26. After the lapse of a few years, Rutlam again passed into the hands of a child of two or three years old. During the interval dissension and dissipation had destroyed much that Borthwick had built up; the bazar had lost its fullness; but under British guardianship, during the last three or four years, more than the old prosperity is reviving. This time the Superintendent (Shahamut Alli) is a Native of Hindoostan; he has visited Europe, and is a scholar and administrator of no mean attainments. His hard and fast line may not be ours, but in a troubled position he has worked wonders during his supervision. Cultivators and traders press to Rutlam from other Native States.

27. Jowra, forty years ago, was little more than a village. Under Borthwick's fostering care, it became a city with a rich and well supplied mart. When he made over his charge, the young Nawab so carefully maintained all that had been inaugurated, that Jowra continued to increase in prosperity. About two years ago this Nawab died; his heir is a minor, and thus the State has again fallen under British protection. The administration is carried on by the late Nawab's minister, under the supervision of the Political Agent. It has now a bazar second only to Rutlam. Order everywhere prevails, and the air of contentment which possesses the people strikes every passer-by.

28. Again, Sillana, this small State during the minority of its present Rajah, fell into our management. The Superintendent, for some years, was the same Shahamut Alli, who is now at Rutlam. When he took charge debts were heavy, and disorder was in everything. During his guardianship, the debts were reduced four-fifths; the revenues put on a footing which brought the old inhabitants back to their calling, and Sillana itself was greatly restored from its ruins. Traders and borahs settled there. Such was the condition of affairs when the State was made over by the British Superintendent to the young Chief. Since that a few years only have passed, and what is now the condition?

29. Sillana is being deserted; cries everywhere rise up of oppression and plunder. Engagements to ryots are broken. Lakhs of debt have been accumulated. So heavy was the burden that the Rajah laid his affairs before the Political Agent, and sought his advice. His ryots and traders are passing to Rutlam and Jowra.

30. The Agent, Governor General, knows better than I do the utter want of confidence amongst Natives at large in the promises of any chief—great or small. I will, however, give an instance in point. About Goonah, where I was for some years, scores of square miles of rich land belonging to petty Rajahs are waste. The Rajah of Bahdoura invited my assistance in obtaining cultivators. I spoke to Sikh pensioners of the Central India Horse and others about to take pension, men always greedy for land, and suggested that they should settle and form villages. The idea thoroughly chimed in with their inclinations *on one condition* that I should countersign the engagement between them and the Rajah. Without this, despite his liberal offers of years of free tenure and a sunnud, not a man would risk his savings or discuss the question.

31. Scindia has long felt the same in many parts of Esaghur, &c. His offers are tempting, but there is no reliance on them. He is too proud to seek or accept our guarantee which would bring hundreds to till the rich ground. It is to be hoped that our guarantees will not increase, for the end is disorder and confusion.

32. I will conclude with extracts from a Report of Colonel J. Sutherland, 1837-38, when Resident of Gwalior, than whom there have been few Officers of more varied experience. He was a man of greas benevolence, the avowed friend and supporter of Native States. In Rajpootana, where he was Governor General's Agent, his name is held in veneration. After a lengthened tour in Bundelcund, Malwa, Berar, &c., he thus describes his entrance in British territory :—

"We had again, in the Baitool district, an example of the benefit conferred on the people by British rule, and of the estimation in which it is held. Taking it all in all, it is very gratifying to any one interested in the permanent prosperity of our rule to witness the comfort and tranquillity which reign throughout this poor and remote tract of country, to hear the inhabitants ascribing these things to the justice of our Officers, and the moderation of our Government."

He goes on to prove that the advantages of British rule have been more appreciated in these districts and those of Nimar than in many parts of India and for the same reasons.

"We found in them no upper classes ; no cities in the enjoyment of wealth and luxury through the expenditure of a Court, so that our administration has been one of unmixed benefit to all. The people are conscious, from an experience of twenty years, that our system, by whoever administered, will continue the same. Under Native rule, a breath raises them up or casts them down. Accompanied, as I am, by persons little accustomed to British rule, and whom it is my daily duty to reproach on the badness of their own, I confess that I have no little pride and pleasure in pointing to a happy tenantry and well-cultivated fields and hearing them confess that the people have no cause of complaint; that this is so no one can suppose, but that it is so by comparison with the people of those countries through which we have been travelling I have myself no doubt. When at Agra last year I told a Native gentleman, Mir Alum Khan, an inhabitant of the Nizam's country, who had resided the greater portion of his life there, but who had also lived

much in camps and travelled through Persia and Arabia, to compare the condition of the different classes under our rule with that of the corresponding classes under Native rule. He told me that our rule was particularly calculated to protect and render prosperous, in as far as prosperity can be their lot, three great classes of the community,—the merchant, the agriculturist, and the labourer—and these he allowed were the great majority of mankind. But he said it was destruction to the gentleman who ought to live at home at ease; and the interests of the few he considered of greater importance than those of the many —*they* were of his own order."

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From J. H. MORRIS, Esq., to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Nagpore, 23rd August 1867).

I have the pleasure now to reply to your "confidential" letter of the 1st July.

If the people of an Indian province be divided into five classes, namely,—

The nobility and courtiers;
The commercial class;
The land-holding and land-occupying class;
The labouring class;
The religious class;

then we must perhaps admit that the first and the last of these classes have material cause for regarding British administration with disfavor. The nobles have no lucrative or honorable posts to look to, such as the headships of great State departments, the Governorships of provinces, the command of armies. In a Native State there are always a number of offices of this kind: some of them are hereditary; nearly all of them go to members of the local aristocracy. With us a Rajah (such, for instance, as the ancient Gond talookdars of the Nerbudda Valley) may, if he manages well, keep out of debt, have a flourishing estate, be an Honorary Magistrate, and keep on good, or even friendly, terms with British Officers. But his local influence and importance are far less than attach to the nearest Tehseeldar, who perhaps began life as a clerk on Rs. 10 a month. Then, again, the cadets of old families like these have, or think they have, no choice but to vegetate on the scanty pittance which the head of their house can allow them.

With the courtiers who have survived a Native Court the case is perhaps even harder. The provision made by the British Government for the people of the old Nagpore Court was extremely liberal, yet it is quite sad to see how swiftly and surely these people drift into debt. A few of them were appointed Extra Assistant Commissioners, and they got on at first tolerably well, but they could not keep up with the requirements of our system, and they retired. Sir R. Temple did what he could to bring forward some of the younger courtiers as Tehseeldars. But as yet these men have not adapted themselves to our system. Some of the sons of these courtiers, however, are likely to do fairly well.

The religious classes must be worse off than they were under Native rule. The most they can hope for from our Government is the continuance, in whole or in part, of the regularly recognized assignments they formerly enjoyed. They cannot now get large annual gifts from royal ladies, or rich grants by the bequests of dying kings. The Native nobles and courtiers who used to maintain them are themselves more or less straitened. Education is beginning appreciably to spread; free-thinking is becoming more common; superstition is in some places being lightened. All these changes, however desirable in themselves, must lessen the revenues of the priestly classes.

As for the labouring class, its members very rarely give any thought to the Government under which they live. Nor is their daily life, or their means of living, much affected by the Government. The people of this class look very little beyond next day's dinner; they live and they work, and they eat and they die, and they can do all these things under either the British Government or a Native Prince. Perhaps it is easier for a labouring man to move about and carry his labour to the best market; perhaps his day's wages may be a little larger and a little surer in a British province than in a neighbouring Native State. But their food is perhaps cheaper in the Native kingdom. And a coolie may there be as dirty as he likes; he may live without interference in the middle of a marsh, or over a cesspool; whereas in a British town he and his must conform to a number of petty sanitary laws. Men from the labouring class do occasionally raise themselves. And for such people the path of advancement is as easy and less irksome under Native rule. Perhaps a poor weaver can now be more sure of enjoying the full proceeds of his toil than he could have been in Nagpore 20 years ago. But then he bears in mind that in the times of the Bhonslas country fabrics were worn by every one, from the Rajah to the sweeper; whereas *now*, not only is *Juggernathee Kapra* (long cloth) largely worn, but he is undersold by cloths made at Manchester looms in exact imitation of what he himself used to turn out. Men of this class do not as yet appreciate the advantages we hold out to them, such as education, medical treatment, justice, police, facility for travel, and the like.

There remain two classes—

The commercial and
The agricultural.

The commercial classes are certainly better off in British than in Native provinces. They will allow this themselves; the success of this class is indeed in the eyes of a portion of our subjects one of the reproaches to British rule. For a few years after annexation, in a place like Nagpore, the merchants may feel the loss of the lavish expenditure of a Native Court; but everywhere else the commercial classes thrive better under British than under Native Government. Perhaps it is unnecessary to say anything more upon this point. There are no statistics available to show that merchants and dealers actually make larger earnings than they did under Native rule. But it is quite certain that they enjoy their profits more, possess them more surely, and spend them more freely than before. Formerly (I say *formerly*, because it seems fair to compare British administration with the old Native Governments,

rather than with the existing Native administrations to which the leaven of British fairness, order, and public spirit has spread) a banker, whatever he earned, lived poorly lest he should tempt the rapacity of some official. Now Native merchants live well, dress well, wear jewels, drive carriages, endow schools, build ghâts, construct temples, and in fact enjoy their money to the fullest extent.

Lastly, there is the agricultural class ; they are the most important class of all ; and in some provinces of British India they have derived as much material benefit from British rule as any class. They fully appreciate the immense benefit which the British system confers upon them in the shape of certainty of tenure, and fixity, as well as moderation, of demand. Take the case of the Nagpore province ; it had triennial revenue settlements, and at each settlement some five or six per cent. of the landholders either were evicted from their lands, or else had to give them up from inability to pay the enhanced Government demand. In those times the proportion of the rents and village profits which went into the pocket of the landlord was about 10 per cent. or even less. Now, even at the outset of a 30 years' settlement, the landlord enjoys at least 30 per cent. of the village profits. The freedom from transit duties when he takes his produce to market ; the liberality with which Government advances loans (without interest) *tuccavee* for improvements ; the additional means of getting from place to place ;—all these advantages are much appreciated by the people. There are some few features of our revenue and general administration which even this class dislike : such, for instance, as the punctuality so strictly enforced in payments of land revenue ; the frequent visits of chuprassies for sanitary, statistical, and other purposes ; some of them perhaps dislike the influence brought to bear to make them educate their children. In a word, they fail to appreciate our constant desire for speedy progress, moral and material ; they would prefer to be let alone. Then perhaps the inflexibility and stiffness of our judicial system is, for a generation or so at least, irksome to them. And lastly, the law of land sale (as Mr. Kaye calls it) is in the eyes of the landholding classes a real grievance.

Still, notwithstanding all these fancied drawbacks, the balance would be in favor of our revenue system, even when weighed against the better-managed Native systems. I fear that I cannot give actual figures in proof of this ; but I can at any rate adduce instances where the two systems have in effect been weighed against each other by a large body of landholders and occupiers :—

1. As Settlement Officer of Mooltan, I can recollect how very much our system then was preferred to that in Bhawulpore. And I can remember how the farmers of Bhawulpore used to try all they could to get a holding in our territory.
2. The influx of tens of thousands of the agricultural classes into Berar since it came under British rule, and the immense rise in the value of land there, is very patent to us, who are divided from Berar by the River Wurdah only.
3. So far as I can learn, an exactly opposite result has taken place in the Raichore Doab. And when I was travelling in the west coast some years back, I heard very much of the loud expressions which the petty proprietors of that tract gave to the dislike at being transferred to the Nizam.

4. The Upper Godavery talooks came to us in 1860-61. Already about 9 per cent. have been added to the population there by immigration alone, and the extent of cultivation and the wealth of the district has proportionately increased.

5. In 1850 A. D., two Pergunnahs, which had formerly belonged to the Jeytpore Rajah, and had been under British management for some time, escheated, and they were attached to the Dumoh district. In 1859 one of these Pergunnahs (Simurea) was given to the Punnah Chief for his mutiny services. The landholding classes made a great outcry at the time, saying what wrong had they done that they were to be handed over to Punnah. About two years ago one of our Settlement Officers had occasion to cross this Pergunnah in going from one part of Dumoh to another. And numbers of the landholders came to his tent, telling him of their unhappy lot; how they held on only a five years' tenure; how some of them were evicted; how they had to pay extra taxes, such as "foujkhurch," and the like; how that an extra benevolence had been exacted from them when there was a marriage in the Rajah's family, and the like.

6. The Bijeragoghur Pergunnah has only recently become British territory, and a few villages of that tract were given in jagheer to the Nagode Chief in reward for his mutiny services. These villages are now Nagode territory. And the malgoozars complain—in their intercourse with the Settlement Officer at least—of the misfortune which has befallen them. They say that they have no security of tenure, and they have to pay all sorts of extra taxes. In their figurative language, they said they had been handed over to Nagode to have their throats cut.

I believe that instances of this kind might be multiplied. At the same time it is only fair to say that this feeling is not absolutely universal. There has been for some years an impending exchange of territory with Holkar, which will involve the transfer to the Indore Durbar of two or three Nimar Pergnnnahs. So far as our Officers can judge, the people of those tracts feel no dislike at the prospect of re-transfer to Native rule. Again, many of our Nerbudda Valley landholders also own villages in Bhopal or under the Gwalior Durbar; and they always speak with respect and contentment of the treatment they receive at the hands of the Revenue Authorities there.

On the whole, then, it may perhaps be claimed that the agricultural classes enjoy greater material advantages—and acknowledge that they do so—under British than under Native rule. Indeed, I hardly think it would be possible to find anywhere in the world a more prosperous community than the petty proprietors of the (ryotwaree) districts of Dharwar, Ahmedabad, Tanjore, and Berar, than the whole agricultural body in the lightly-rented districts of the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

Your letter under reply asks for statistics, and I am now offering little more than general statements. But I know of no statistics showing

the production, earnings, and profits of the various classes in any Native State, so I have been unable to give every arithmetical statement of the material position of Native and British subjects.

I would, however, add that, if British rule in India is to be weighed in the balance, it should not be found wanting until full weight has been given to sundry other considerations besides its comparative material benefits conferred, or the comparative estimation in which the two systems are held by Natives. Native rule prevents, while British rule permits and encourages advancement. Even the Bhopal State takes the highest possible land-tax, prohibits the export of grain, and refuses to make roads. But the administration of Bhopal, of Travancore, of Puttiala, of the Putwurdhuns, of Gwalior, would not be what it is if it were not for the example and influence of the paramount power. The influence of our residents, the example of our governments, the competition of our provinces, compel Native States to maintain order, to administer a sort of justice, to curb exaction. Add to this, that if there were no strong paramount power, some one or more of the provinces of India would always be torn by wars of the kind we have recently seen waging in Afghanistan. Material progress of any kind must utterly and entirely cease in the presence of warfare of this kind.

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Memorandum by COLONEL A. FYTCHE, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor General, on the comparative progress of the provinces, now forming British Burmah, under British and Native rule,—(Dated Rangoon, 23rd August 1867).

It may be premised that the following paper has been drawn up on the understanding that *data* should be furnished showing as clearly as possible the material progress of British Burmah under British Administration, as compared with its condition under Native rule, or with the condition of existing neighbouring States and Powers; and that no discussion or argument is desired as to the popularity of our rule, or the advantages which it may possess, except so far as these are to be assumed from the statements indicative of the comparative progress of the people under our Government.

2. British Burmah affords means of drawing a fair comparison between British and Native Administration, because it has in immediate contact with it as a Government the very power from whose dominions the province was obtained. In 1826 the provinces of Arrakan and Tenasserim were annexed to the British territories from the Burmese Power, still leaving to the King of Ava the whole of the northern portion of his dominions, as well as the important province of Pegu, formed of the lower portion of the valley of the Irrawaddy River and its delta. We thus obtained possession of the least productive portion of the Burmese Kingdom, while the King retained the magnificent lands of Pegu, with the valuable outlet of Rangoon, to which point foreign trade had solely been drawn.

3. A reference to the map will show that the province of Pegu was fairly interposed between the newly acquired districts, in a position easily to withdraw from them both population and trade, provided Native rule had proved more attractive to either. These conditions,

then, seem to furnish a fair test—only that the presumption was in favor of the Native dynasty in virtue of its holding a far richer and more accessible country.

4. As it is required that the endeavor to compare the result of British and of Native rule in these countries is to be made on specific data, it is necessary to select some one element of advancement as a standard, from which can be deduced the many numerous conditions which go to make up material progress. If this be not done, the comparison must spread out into an examination too minute and extended to be satisfactorily disposed of within a reasonable compass—and the difficulty is increased from the impossibility of obtaining in detail the items which constituted the revenue, taxes, and trade of British Burmah previous to our occupation, in such a shape as would enable individual comparison with the fiscal arrangements now in force.

5. In the east there is probably no better general test of the advancement of a country than the rise or fall, the ebb or flow, of its population. A steady increase in the population indicates in fact a prosperous people, a firm and stable Government, and an absence of oppression. It produces, especially where the proportion is not in excess of the capabilities of the soil, extended cultivation and increased trade. If then it can be fairly shown *that* the population of the provinces composing British Burmah has increased at a rate which far exceeds the numbers to be obtained from natural increase, and must be attributed to immigration; *that* in one instance where the locality whence the immigration was drawn became British, the exodus ceased; while the flow from Native States into British districts more accessible continued; and *that* where detailed statistics are available, it will be seen our frontier districts have increased at the highest ratio, then we may conclude that British administration in Burmah has proved its superiority over Native rule. In British Burmah the population returns are fairly reliable, because they are susceptible of easy check from the Capitation Tax in force in these provinces. This tax is levied from all male adults, and the revenue received therefrom,—actual money paid into the treasury at fixed rates per head, has shown a proportional increase, corresponding with the rise in population.

6. It is well known that when Arrakan and Tenasserim first came into our possession in 1826 they were almost depopulated, and were so unproductive that it was seriously deliberated whether they should not be restored to Burmah. The following figures will show how much these apparently unprofitable acquirements prospered under our administration.

7. In 1826 the province of Arrakan, with an area of 18,630 square miles, had a population of only 100,000 souls; these were the indigenous population. In 1835 this had risen to 211,536, of whom not more than 6,000 were foreigners. In 1845 the population numbered 309,608, an increase of 50 per cent. in the decade, and in 1855 reached 366,310, or 15 per cent. in the decade; but in 1852 Pegu had become a British possession, the effect of which was immediately felt in Arrakan, still the total increase in Arrakan during the 29 years was 250 per cent. of the indigenous population, or an average of 50 per cent. in each decade.

8. Now, turning to Tenasserim, we find that in 1829, three years after the annexation, the population in a province with an area of 28,000 square miles was estimated at a little over 70,000 souls. In 1835 it had risen to 84,917, or 21 per cent. in six years. In 1845 to 127,455, or 50 per cent. in the decade. In 1855 to 213, 692 or 69 per cent. in the decade. In other words, it had increased by 200 per cent. in 26 years. The actual increase in the home population of England and Wales (after the loss from emigration) has been about 12 per cent. in each decade of the last 50 years.

9. To support the above returns, we will give the statistics of revenue and assessed cultivation during the same period. The revenue of Arrakan, which in 1826 was £23,225, rose as follows:—In 1835 to £52,832; in 1845 to £68,455; and in 1855 to £127,729. The area of assessed cultivation, commencing in 1830 with 66,227 acres, advanced in 1835 to 133,952; in 1845 to 233,769; and in 1855 to 353,885 acres, while the value of the entire trade in the same year amounted to £1,876,998.

10. In Tenasserim the first year's revenue in 1825-26 was £2,676. In 1835-36 it had risen to £33,953; in 1845-46 £52,525; and in 1855-56 had reached £83,300, while the total trade amounted to £836,305. Land under cultivation was not assessed by area in the earlier years of our occupation, and we have no returns on that head until 1843, when 100,657 acres were assessed. This in 1845 had increased to 119,869, and in 1855-56 to 181,681.

11. Now, from 1826 until 1852, these provinces of Arrakan and Tenasserim had, as a competitor both for trade and population, the Burman territories, with a frontier of some 800 miles, across which our subjects were free to go, as far as we were concerned; but not free to come, because the Burman authorities strongly opposed emigration, and put serious obstacles in the way of any of their people migrating to our territories. Yet the immense increase of population shows that very large numbers were attracted to our rule.

12. As to the trade, there are no reliable data available to show what it could have been under Burmese rule for, say, the half century before we occupied the provinces; but we know from the absence of any seaport towns of importance, and from the small number of vessels which ever visited these provinces from other countries, that at the time they came into our possession, there was scarcely any external trade at all. During the years, however, which have now been described, Maulmain, in the Tenasserim provinces, became from a fishing village a city of 60,000 inhabitants; and Akyab, in Arrakan, similarly sprung into existence and reached a population of 20,000 souls.

13. So far has been traced the progress of these provinces up to 1855, but in 1852 the province of Pegu, including the rich delta of the Irrawaddy, had been annexed to our territory, the three provinces eventually forming British Burmah; and we have brought the older two provinces up to 1855, because from that date a carefully prepared statement of the statistics of the whole three provides a ready reference on all points of their material progress, as well as

because in the first few years of our occupation of Pegu the returns are necessarily not so reliable as when the administration was completely organized.

14. Pegu came into our possession in 1852, with an estimated population of 500,000 souls, and an area of 33,400 square miles, or a ratio of 15 persons to the square mile. In 1855 it is returned at 631,640 souls, or nearly 19 to the square mile. It will be remembered that Arrakan, commencing in 1826, with a ratio of 5½ persons to the square mile, had risen in 1855 to a ratio of 20 persons; and Tenasserim, from a ratio of 2½ persons in 1829, had increased to 7 persons per square mile in 1855. But it would seem that in the beginning of the century the population of the true Burman Empire (that is, Upper Burmah as now constituted, Pegu and Martaban) was estimated by various authorities at from 20 to 23 persons the square mile, and if this were the general average, it may be concluded that the fertile province of Pegu containing the valley of the Irrawaddy, with that river as the high way from the seaport town of Rangoon to Ava, the Capital of the Empire, must have had a higher rate than the remainder of the country.

15. But taking the population of Pegu at 23 persons the square mile in 1826, we can then compare the position of the territories, British and Native, after 29 years' of mutual contract, thus:—

| | | 1826. Population. | | 1855. Population. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NATIVE ... ... ... | Pegu ... ... | 769,120 | ... | 719,640 |
| BRITISH ... ... ... | Arrakan ... | 100,000 | ... | 341,310* |
| | Tenasserim ... | 70,000 | ... | 213,692 |
| | TOTAL ... | 939,320 | ... | 1,274,612 |

Now we know that the gross increase in Arrakan and Tenasserim in these 29 years was 385,000 souls, from which, allowing the natural increase during that period to have been 75 per cent. on the original population, we may deduct 127,500 on that account, and this will leave us 257,500 souls as the emigration from Pegu and the other Native Burman States into British territory; and if we compare Pegu (including Martaban) fairly estimated in 1826 with Pegu (including Martaban) even in 1855 (three years after it came into our possession, during which period its population is believed to have risen from 588,000 to 719,640), we find it with nearly 50,000 less population at the latter than at the former period. This is an astonishing result, when placed against the immense progress of the British territories in its immediate neighbourhood.

16. The very scanty ratio of population to area which, it is believed, Burmah has, within historical periods, always had under Native rule, is almost certain proof that the actual natural increase is very low,

* Not including foreigners.

or, rather has been very low, yet it has very great capacity for supporting human life; and we have been able in tracing the British occupation of Arrakan and Tenasserim, far less productive countries, to provide for a natural increase in them of 75 per cent. in 29 years, and even then have a large surplus population. Had Pegu, during the same period with its greater advantages, increased at the same proportion, it should have been possessed of a population of more than 1,000,000 souls when it came into our hands. Instead of this, we find its population to have retrograded, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the people who should have enriched the Native State were drawn into British territory.

17. Having thus brought up these provinces to 1855, we shall now trace their progress since that period. The province of Pegu, as has been said, came into our possession in 1852; but making allowances for the distressed condition of a country after a campaign, and for the imperfect returns accidental to a newly organized administration, we may pass over the years up to 1855, and from that date commence our deductions.

18. Now, as to the province of Pegu, it faces with a perfectly open frontier of (say) 200 miles, and still existing Burmese territories under the King of Ava, so that it is fairly pitted against the possibly superior attractions of Native rule. From our territories, any subject of ours is free to move into Upper Burmah whenever he desires, whereas there is a steady opposition shown to any emigration from the King's dominions into ours. So strong is this that when families of cultivators wish to cross they are frequently obliged to do so by stealth at night, bringing possibly their cattle and carts, but abandoning their houses and much property. They send intelligence constantly to our Police Stations on the frontier to announce that they are coming, asking at the same time that a guard may meet them on the frontier to protect them from the pursuing Burmese officials; and again and again are our Police Stations flanked by the camps of whole villages who have bodily moved into our territories and taken shelter there, until they had selected their future fields.

19. In the face of these difficulties then, we find that Pegu, first a separate province, now a division of British Burmah, had in 1855 a population of 631,640 souls, which in 1865 had risen to 1,350,989, that is, had more than doubled itself in ten years, the exact increase being 113 per cent. The proportion of population to area had increased from 19 to 40 per square mile. If we allow a natural increase of 25 per cent. during the decade in question, we may deduct 157,910 on that account; and 20,000, the number of foreigners, from 719,349, which is the total gross increase; and these deductions will leave us an immigration of the indigenous population into our territories of the enormous number of 561,439 souls in the ten years from 1855 to 1865.

20. Further, if we look to the increase of individual districts during the same period, it will appear that their ratio of increase is strangely in accordance with their propinquity to foreign territory, and their consequent facility for absorbing emigrants. Thus the Prome district, which in its northern aspect forms our frontier in the valley of the Irrawaddy, has increased its population by no less

than 156 per cent. in these ten years. The Tounghoo district which is our frontier in the valley of the Sitting (also facing Upper Burmah) has had its population augmented in the same period 115 per cent. The Myanoung district which adjoins Prome to the south shows an increase of 81 per cent. The Bassein district which has drawn, as will be shown hereafter, from Arrakan as well as Upper Burmah, has raised its population by 113 per cent. While the Rangoon district, which is the most southerly and removed from our frontier, has increased by 70 per cent. in the same decade.

21. The population returns from the other two divisions extending over the same ten years, 1855-56 to 1865-66, fully support the conclusion that they formerly drew their additional population from Upper Burmah and from Pegu so long as it was under Native rule, and that when the latter came under British administration the transfer ceased. Thus intercommunication between Arrakan and the Pegu Division is comparatively easy along their mutual boundary, but when we reach the Northern Frontier of the Pegu Division running athwart the valley of the Irrawaddy, then the passage from Upper Burmah (Native) above that line to the Arrakan Division is one of considerable difficulty; in fact the Aeng Pass is the only really feasible route leading through the broad range of mountains there separating Arrakan from Burmah Proper. We have shown that while Arrakan under British administration had to compete with Pegu under Native rule, its population increased at an average of 50 per cent. each decade;—but when it has Pegu under British management as its neighbour, and physical obstacles prevent a supply being drawn from Burmah, as has been the case from 1855-56 to 1865-66, we find the population has only increased from 366,310 to 414,640, or 13 per cent. We have already pointed out that the Bassein district of the Pegu Division, which immediately adjoins Arrakan, has, during this period, increased 113 per cent., and this is probably in some degree due to the reflux of those who had, while Pegu was under Native rule, moved into the province of Arrakan. Tenasserim, on the other hand, has many routes by which she can draw population from the Native States, and we find that in the period from 1855-56 to 1865-66, this division has increased its population from 254,605 to 430,551, or 68 per cent., a decennial rate as high as any it had attained since its occupation.

22. The foregoing data seem to have established beyond any doubt that, during the whole period of British administration of the provinces of Arrakan, Tenasserim, and Pegu, they have, in addition to an allowed natural increase of population, far higher than we have any historical authority for supposing they ever reached under Native rule, withdrawn and absorbed enormous numbers of people from the neighbouring Native States, which may be summarized as follows:—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Into | Tenasserim and Arrakan | 1826 to 1855 | ... | ... | 257,500 |
| „ | Pegu from 1855 to 1865 | ... | ... | ... | 561,439 |
| „ | Tenasserim from Do. | Do. ... | ... | ... | 113,295 |
| | | | | Total | 932,234 |

23. Now, looking to specific marks of material progress, to see whether they support the conclusions we would wish to draw, we find that in the Pegu Division during the decade, 1855-56 to 1865-66, the area of assessed cultivation has increased from 539,808 to 991,102 acres, or 83 per cent; customs from £56,281 to £151,088; the total revenue from £297,753 to £646,462; while the entire trade rose from £2,143,100 to £7,300,224. These results fully bear out our argument that increased population and increased prosperity in a country situated and constituted as Burmah is run hand in hand together.

24. Tenasserim also in the past decade has progressed satisfactorily, in accordance with the increase in its population. The assessed area has risen from 181,681 to 273,289 acres; customs from £7,796 to £13,517; the total revenue from £106,609 to £193,566; while the entire trade has increased from £836,305 to £1,712,307.

25. Arrakan, on the other hand, shows the effect on her prosperity of having a British instead of a Native administration to contend with as a neighbour. It has been indicated already that physical obstacles stand between Arrakan and Upper Burmah, which do not, and did not, between it and Pegu. We have given the rapid increase in the population and prosperity of Arrakan up to 1855, but in the decade, to 1865, there is a marked falling off. Assessed lands increased from 353,885 to 377,012 acres; revenue from £127,429 to £190,032; while trade has fallen from £1,876,998 to £1,395,580.

26. We have hitherto been concerned only to show the undoubted fact that the countries under British administration have possessed advantages so manifest to the population of neighbouring Native States that a steady emigration from them into our territories has continued ever since our Government was established among the Indo-Chinese nations. The original ratio of population to area being very low, while the life-supporting capacity of the soil is very high, this rapid increase of population has produced a remarkable progress in all the elements which go to make up the material prosperity of the country.

27. And when we look to those Native Powers which have been our competitors during this period, the picture is reversed. In the dominions of the King of Burmah, including the tributary Shan States, we find everywhere signs of progressive decay; a discontented people abandoning his territory; a decreasing revenue; the area of cultivation lessening yearly; and the weakness of the Government shown in the rebellions and outbreaks which so regularly occur. During this year (1867) had it not been for the rich granaries of Pegu, that supplied Upper Burmah with rice, a famine would have succeeded the Civil war which raged last year. The Natives of Upper Burmah themselves indicate truly the process now being undergone by the British and Native dominions. "Here," they say, "in British Burmah, your villages are becoming towns, but with us in Upper Burmah our towns are becoming villages."

From LIEUT. COL. W. F. EDEN, Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Mount Aboo, 23rd August 1867).

I have duly received your demi-official Circular of the 1st ultimo, asking for an expression of my opinion as to whether, in the estimation of Natives, the system of British administration in India possessed any superiority over the method of government pursued in the Independent States.

It is, I conceive, a proposition quite incontestable, andone admitted by every educated and unprejudiced Native who has had opportunity of forming his own conclusions, that our system of administration is incomparably more just, more efficient, and, in most respects, superior to that which obtains in Native States. For the first time, almost within the annals of Indian history, a government has been established with its foundations laid on broad principles of toleration, equity, and wisdom, in which the wants and rights of the middle and lower classes,—the bulk of the population,—receive just and impartial consideration, in which the rich and powerful can no longer trample down, with impunity, the poor and the weak, and in which life and property have stronger safeguards than the capricious will of despotic and irresponsible rulers. And I most decidedly concur in the opinion of His Excellency the Viceroy that the masses of the people in British India are more prosperous and more happy, though they may not always realize the fact, than their fellow countrymen living under the sway of their own chiefs.

To show that the superiority of our mode of government is generally admitted, I cannot do better than mention an answer which every Political Officer must have received times beyond number, when suggesting reforms to a Native Chief or his ministers. The soundness and wisdom of the proffered advice and counsel is rarely questioned, but it is urged in reply that a measure of folly, short-sightedness, nay, more of misgovernment, must be expected in a Native State; in fact, that it is the mere nature of things that it should be so, and that we must not anticipate their administrations to come up to the standard of our own.

Whilst, then, I have no personal doubt as to the solid advantages accruing to our subjects, I cannot say that the popularity of our government is in proportion to those advantages; and the causes are obvious to those who have studied the effects of foreign domination. As very truly remarked in your letter, we are so alien to the population in color, religion, and every other characteristic,—so great a gulf divides the governors from the governed,—that it would be unreasonable for us to expect the same measure of popularity as accrues to a good Native ruler, or even to a chief whose administrative merits do not rise above an absence from great vices.

When we seek to comprehend the sentiments of the masses, we must place ourselves on their standing ground; we must remember that they are ignorant, childish, and superstitious to a degree,—creatures whose thoughts and ideas merely flow in a current of traditional habit and custom, trammelled on all sides by caste,—that they are in the main incapable of thinking for themselves, and, like all Asiatics carried away by ostentatious pomp and display.

To these classes many of our legislative measures, which are expressly intended for their welfare, are incomprehensible and irksome: they would prefer to move along the path trodden for centuries by their forefathers, rather than be troubled with measures of reform and progress, which, in their first stage, are generally accompanied with some little personal sacrifice. Feelings such as these will wear away as education extends; presently, however, they do obtain, and are the natural results of an administration far advanced beyond the understanding of the bulk of the people.

Further, the populace miss, in our government, the pageantry and display exhibited by Native Chiefs; and there is also wanting that bond of sympathy between the rulers and those ruled which is created by a common belief, and by association in religious customs and festivals to which the masses are so much attached. In fact, a Native administration has to a Native a warmth and geniality, if such terms may be applied, as compared with our government, which, although admitted as more just and equitable in all respects, strikes him as cold, hard, and unimpassioned,—better suited for an educated race born under a northern sky.

There is too, unquestionably, a strong and natural tendency amongst Natives, long subject to our rule, to forget the tyranny and oppression under which they suffered from the despots of their own race; whilst, on the other hand, the petty annoyances of our administration are constantly before their eyes.

To the upper classes, to the priesthood, as well to the bold, ambitious, and unscrupulous, our government is certainly more actively repellent. Power, they feel, they have little or none, and there are but few, if any, careers open to them by which they can obtain it. The soldier can rise to the command of a troop or company; the civilian can advance to the post of "Sudder Ameen," but at these points their hopes must rest content. Since 1857, however, a more liberal policy has been introduced, and, as stated in the Annual Report of this Agency for the past year, the grant of civil and judicial powers to members of the upper classes in Oudh, the Punjab, and elsewhere, and the general improved status in which they are held, has done much towards attaching them to our rule.

In conclusion, I would record that, in spite of the popular feelings above referred to, I am firmly convinced that, if the sense of the people could be taken, there would be found a great preponderance in favor of the continuance of our authority to its transfer to the hands of their own countrymen; and it is, moreover, very certain that when, in the fullness of time, we do withdraw from the Government of British India, our name will be revered, and that our empire will be cherished and remembered as a golden era in Hindoostan, which closed in centuries of anarchy and misrule.

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From R. N. Cust, Esq., C. S., Member of Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Simla,—(Dated 24th August 1867).

I have the honor to reply to your confidential of July 1st, requesting my opinion whether the assertion of Lord Cranborne in the

House of Commons that the system of British administration in India possessed, in *the estimation of the Natives*, no superiority over the method of government pursued in the Independent States, is supported by fact.

2. Among others, I read this assertion of Lord Cranborne with astonishment, and, as he can have no personal knowledge on the subject, wondered who were his informants.

3. To arrive at a sound opinion, it is not sufficient to have served one's whole career in the British Provinces, or in the Native States, as the judgment becomes influenced by habit of thought. I began my career in the Protected Sikh States, the very tract alluded to by Sir G. Clerk, and as the Punjab was annexed, I advanced, thus coming into contact with the decaying, but not extinct, principles and elements of Native Government. I traversed the whole of the Punjab during the first year of annexation, visiting Cashmere while on intimate terms with the sovereign of the country. At another time I was intimate with the politics of the petty Bundlecund Chiefs. The subject of the respective merits and demerits of Native Governments has constantly been under my consideration. During my furlough I visited Turkey in Asia with a view of ascertaining whether any system of governing Asiatic nations in a respectable Asiatic way could be discovered.

4. I freely admit the many blots and blemishes of our anglicized system; the over centralizations; the influx of inferior Englishmen; the crushing of all Native talent and enthusiasm by virtually closing the higher ranks of office against them. These are blemishes much easier to point out than to suggest a remedy for.

5. I am on principle opposed to the annexation of a single province or country to our already far-too-extensive dominions; on the contrary, I would, in a systematic process of adjusting boundaries, make over, with the consent of the people, some outlying backward tracts to the more respectable Native States on condition of good government.

6. I admit that the hungry class of Native officials, who long for a lazy easy life, as members of a do-nothing Durbar, or petty rulers of fat districts, would greatly prefer the re-introduction of the Native system; but I doubt very much whether the owner and cultivator of land and the better commercial and manufacturing classes would entertain the same preference. A feeling of nationality might incline them in that direction, but, when it came to the point, I doubt if they would vote for Native annexation. In this opinion I am confirmed by Sir Dinkur Rao, who tells me that if the people of Agra were annexed this year to a Native State, they would be sorry for it two years hence.

7. I cannot but think that the worst type of an English-governed State is preferable to the best-governed Native State; the English system will probably improve, and at any rate endure some little time; the Native system, if good for the moment by the accident of one good ruler, will relapse in a few years to a worse state by his demise or expulsion.

8. In a Native State, there is no fixed legislature; no Courts of Justice; little attempt at education; no complete religious freedom; no certain property in land; no public opinion; no enlightened commercial principle; not one of the civilized conveniences of life. I can remember

the late Rajah of Puttiala, in many respects an enlightened sovereign, and afterwards a member of the Council of India, considering it a grievance to have a Post Office opened in his chief town. Other States tolerate infanticide, but punish severely the slaughter of kine; other chiefs refuse to have the dense jungle cut, or to open out roads. The late report on the political administration of the Central India Agency is full of suggestive statements. If any chief ever had the opportunity of qualifying himself for his high position, it was Maharajah Holkar, and yet we find that, in that large kingdom, there is no written Code, and that decrees of Judicial Officers are reversed at pleasure by the chief.

9. Such Books as the "Punjab Chiefs" lately published at Lahore, and Colonel Sleeman's Book on Oudh, are suggestive of the comparative advantages of the Native State, even when sufficiently large and rich as to enable the Sovereign to entertain proper servants of the State.

10. Since the annexation of Oudh it is known as a fact that hundreds of cultivators who had migrated from that province into an adjacent district have flocked back to their Native villages from Shajehanpore, Jounpore, and Allahabad. This certainly suggests in some degree the estimation of Natives of the comparative advantages and disadvantages.

11. And if the opportunity of rising to high stations under Government is denied to Natives under British rule, more than reasonably it ought to be, it must, on the other hand, be remembered that *Government service is not everything*—is not the only outlet for genius, education, and industry. It is stated to be a misfortune for a country to have a small place under Government considered the *summum bonum* of the youth. But under British rule a career is opened to the merchant, the manufacturers, the lawyer, the landed proprietor, and the contractor, and numerous other honorable and lucrative professions.

12. If we cannot make an attempt to give India as good a government as lies within our power, we had better take to our ships. What would be said in Europe if we allowed India to be governed on low principles as a kind of "culture-enterprize," such as the Dutch maintains in Java? We must act up to our lights, and to the genius of our institutions. I have heard the Penal Code abused; but if we are to have a Criminal Law at all, it is as well to have one based on sound principles, and set out with logical accuracy.

13. In Europe, India and the English rule have become synonymous. Is nothing to be said in the cause of morality when a comparison is made between the two systems? Those who, during the last twenty years, have seen the Augæan stables of the Palaces of Delhi, Lahore, and Lucknow, emptied and exposed to public gaze, may perhaps doubt as to the excellence of pure Native institutions. Let the Pension List of a newly annexed province, such as the Punjab, be examined, and the varieties of licentious, adulterous, and incestuous connections be considered, the issue of which have to be provided for. Let the trail left behind an extinct Native State of courtezans, fiddlers, astrologers, priests, dancers, and still lower grades of infamy, be examined. In the last census of these provinces, two thousand eunuchs are

reported; perhaps in the next decade, owing to the extinction of the palaces of Delhi and Lucknow, this wretched class may cease to exist.

14. And it is in vain to say that Delhi and Lucknow are exceptionally bad, where all depends on the accident of one irresponsible ruler, and there are no recognized principles, all may be equally bad. When there is the happy accident of an honest and able minister, the fate of Dinkur Rao and Salar Jung is always to be anticipated.

15. I do not, in conclusion, admit that, in the estimation of right-thinking Natives, or of Natives who are able to form an opinion at all, there can be a general well-grounded preference for a Native State of the ordinary type; nor do I think that, after admitting all our shortcomings, there can be any doubt as to the vast superiority of the British system, and I write this without any object but that of recording my opinion on the eve of leaving India for ever.

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Note by COLONEL R. J. MEADE, Agent, Governor General, for Central India, on the general question of the opinion entertained by the Natives of India, as to the superiority, or otherwise, of the system of British Administration of India over that which obtains in the Independent States,—(dated Indore Presidency, 24th August 1867).

I cannot conceive it possible for a moment that any unprejudiced person, who has had the opportunity of observing the system or method of Native Government, as practised at the present time, and of comparing it with that of the British administration of India, could seriously attempt to draw any comparison between them in favor of the former.

2. The general principle on which the British system of administration is based is the establishment of law and order within its limits, its object being the security of life and property therein, and a sincere desire to do the greatest good to the greatest number of its subjects, and to act justly towards all.

3. The principle of Native rule is essentially different, being based on the will of the Chief, who is bound by no law but that of his own caprices, and who regards his subjects and their property as wholly at his disposal.

4. In the British territory, the law is supreme, and all, high and low, are subject to its authority. It is administered by officials whose integrity is unquestioned, and whose proceedings and judgments are as a rule, regarded with respect and confidence; though it is not to be denied that there are many points in connection with the practices of the Police, and the lower class of Native Amlah, and also the procedure in the Courts, which are believed to be at times productive of much oppression to those affected by them, and which, though checked by the higher Officers to the best of their ability, render this branch of the administration less popular than it might, and ought to be.

5. In Native territory there is no fixed law or procedure:—where rules or regulations for the guidance of the Courts and State officials have been issued by the Chiefs, they are but little attended to, and are wholly disregarded by the ruler himself at pleasure.

The judicial Officers and all the State officials are, as a rule, underpaid, and are, with but rare exceptions, thoroughly corrupt, and the decisions of the former command neither confidence nor respect.

In fact, there is no such thing in any Native State with which I am acquainted as an "administration of justice" properly so called. Decisions and decrees are given, but the instances are rare in which they have not been more or less influenced by corrupt causes; and their due enforcement or execution is, as a rule, almost wholly dependent on the exercise of further influences of the same nature; while there are, in all Native States, individuals and classes exempt from the jurisdiction of the Courts, and against whom injured parties have, practically, no means of redress, and the ruler at pleasure annuls or suspends the proceedings that have been taken in any case in which he takes a personal interest, or is influenced to such a course by those around him.

6. In the British territory the revenue system is based on fixed and equitable principles. The assessment on the land is light, and the proprietors and cultivators are secured against all demands or oppressive exactions of any description whatever in excess of such assessment.

The rights of property in the land are carefully defined and protected, and every encouragement is held out to landholders to improve their estates, the value of which is thus continually increasing, while the extension of cultivation has been immense, and is still progressing.

7. In Native territory the revenue system—except in some few States in which there has been an attempt at imitation of that in force in British territory—is of a far different nature.

The assessment on the land is much heavier than that levied in British districts, and the landholders and cultivators are liable besides to all sorts of further demands and exactions from the State farmer, or revenue or other officials, which there is no resisting, and for which there is no redress, but which are most oppressive, and greatly impoverish the class they affect.

The right of property in the land is not generally recognised, and where it is so in a modified form, the holder has no security whatever against the arbitrary proceedings of the Chief or his officials, which may at any time, on any pretext, deprive him of his lands and reduce him to penury.

Hence there is no inducement to the class of landholders to invest money in the improvement of their holdings, or to other parties to undertake the reclamation of unowned and depopulated tracts, and the result is seen in the enormous extent of uncultivated land of the best quality in many Native States, which is allowed to lay waste, and is turned to no account whatever.

8. In the foregoing observations, I have remarked on the chief points of difference in the British and Native administrations which doubtless affect the mass of the people more than any others; and if they alone were to be taken into consideration, the immense superiority of the British system, and of the results it secures to those subject to it, could hardly be questioned.

9. But there are many other points which form prominent features in the British system of administration, and are essential to the progress, the comfort, and the convenience of the people ruled by it, which are either wholly wanting, or are but faintly or imperfectly imitated in Native territory.

10. Such are—

The construction of roads and communications, and the other Public Works carried on at the cost of the State;

The provision and diffusion of the means of education, and the encouragement the Public Service affords to those who qualify themselves by suitable study and preparation for employment in its various branches;

The establishment of hospitals and dispensaries;

The great encouragement and facilities afforded to traffic by the freedom from all internal transit duties, and the general security of the high roads, and suppression of heinous crime of a predatory character, which latter still flourishes in many Native States.

11. Much more might be added on this subject; but what has been already stated may, it seems to me, be fairly deemed sufficient to show that the superiority of the British system is so vast in all essentials as to leave ground for no just comparison whatever between it and the Native system, and that, on this score, there ought to be no question that the *masses* of the people which include the vast numbers composing the trading, the agricultural, and the laboring classes are in every respect far better off, more prosperous, and more happy in British territory than they could possibly be under any Native ruler.

12. With respect to the views and feelings of the Natives generally on this question, it is not to be supposed that the supercession of Native by British rule could be acceptable to those classes which have been reduced by it from a position of dominance and privilege, and placed on a par with those they had previously been accustomed to regard as inferiors, and over whom they had exercised an oppressive and unquestioned authority.

13. Such are the relatives and connexions, or their descendants, of the feudal and minor Chiefs, and their personal and family retainers; the State nobles and officials, the military and religious classes, and, lastly, the large number of followers of all descriptions who are attached to persons of these various classes in all Native States, and obtain a subsistence from them without the necessity for exertion on their own part.

14. There can be no question that most of these classes regard the British rule with more or less disfavor, whether they belong to territories which have been absorbed and brought under its operations, or to those still subject to Native government; the feeling in the former case continuing, not unnaturally, to be, to some extent, entertained by the descendants of those who were originally more directly affected by the change; while, in the latter, it is rather dormant than active, unless excited by some special cause.

15. In addition to the above, there must be a large class of persons in British and Native territory possessed of more than ordinary ability or ambition, who are not disposed to turn their attention to the ordinary business of their fellows, but court a life of political or other adventure which may afford them the means of the advancement to which they aspire.

To this class the British rule, not merely affords no field for the attainment of their desires in the territories subject to it, but even, so far as its influence extends thereto, bars, or at least greatly limits, their chances of success in the Native States, as it will not permit the disorders in them amidst which such chances flourish, and which are indeed essential to the projects and hopes of such aspirants.

16. Again, the inflexible nature of the British system, in all its branches, departments, and institutions, the unvarying manner in which its tremendous and resistless power is exercised under our law with one object, and as if by one man, and its inability to accommodate itself in any way to the individual tastes or interests of the persons or classes over whom it rules, as well as its non-liability to be affected by the influences so universally prevalent and recognised, and so patent in all Native communities, and so generally acceptable to the Native mind; these features of the system, beyond all doubt, are more or less distasteful and repellent to many of those subject to its operation, especially in the upper classes.

17. Lastly, there is an undoubted tendency on the part of Natives generally, whether in British or Native territory, to magnify and exaggerate the existing inconveniences or causes for dissatisfaction under British rule, which have been already glanced at, and to forget the terrible miseries their forefathers had to endure in the days of Native government, when the country was a prey to universal disorder brought about by the excesses and gross mismanagement of its rulers, and the people had neither protection nor security for their persons or property, and in many parts led a life little better than that of wild beasts.

18. A really good Native ruler, swayed by principles of justice and moderation, and qualified, in all essential respects, for the duties and responsibilities of his position, would no doubt, if he could establish *and work* an administration framed accordingly, enjoy some important advantages which no foreign government could possess or command; and his rule under such circumstances would naturally be in many respects more popular than the British; but experience shows that the chances are so greatly against the possibility of the establishment of such a Native administration in any of the Independent Chiefships that it would, in my opinion, be quite bootless taking it into account in considering this question.

19. There have been various occasions, dating from Sir J. Malcolm's settlement of Malwa, on which this Office has had opportunities of obtaining an insight into the superior advantages of the British over the Native system of government, and of the estimation on that head of the people generally concerned, in the case of Native Districts and States ceded either temporarily or permanently to the British Government, or taken for a time under British management, and also of British lands transferred in exchange to Native governments.

20. I will allude cursorily to some of them here—

1*st.*—The case of the District of Nimar, which was literally a desert when taken over by the British Government in 1818; its lands being depopulated and waste, and the condition of its people most miserable and hopeless.

Under British rule it had, in 1864, when it passed from the control of this Office to that of the administration of the Central Provinces, become a thriving and most interesting district; its people being as well off as probably those of any of our older Provinces, and thoroughly contented with, and grateful for, the security and blessing they had enjoyed since coming under the British Government.

The proposed transfer of a portion of this district to Holkar has caused a very painful feeling amongst the people who regard the measure with the most intense dissatisfaction.

It is to be observed that these people have had the fullest opportunities of judging of the respective advantages and disadvantages of the British and Native systems, being, it may be said, under both, as their lands are surrounded by Native territory, and there can be no doubt of their views on the question.

2*nd.*—The case of the Pergunnah of Shoojawulpore, which came under British rule about the same time as Nimar, and was transferred to Gwalior in exchange in 1832 against the wishes of the people, who petitioned and protested against the measure, and almost went into rebellion on its being carried out.

3*rd.*—The case of the districts assigned by the Gwalior State, for the maintenance of the Gwalior Contingent, in 1844, and previously.

The introduction of British rule into these districts, some of which were notoriously unsettled and unmanageable by the Durbar, quite altered the character and condition of their people; and when, in 1861, arrangements were ordered for the restoration of some of them to Maharajah Scindia, under the operation of the Treaty of 12th December 1860, the objections and remonstrances to

the measure of those concerned were most vehement, and their feeling at its being carried out is still one of extreme regret and dissatisfaction.

*4th.*—The case of the Dhar Pergunnah of Bairseah, which was made over to the Bhopal State in 1860, after having for many years been under British management The measure was distasteful to all classes of the people, and caused much dissatisfaction amongst them, which, in the case of some of the Hukdars, has led them to oppose the wishes, and to resist the authority, of the Bhopal government in a way that has given rise to a great deal of trouble.

21. In the numerous instances of the temporary management of Native States by British Officers, and the introduction in some of these States of the British system in a modified form, the result has been most satisfactory both as regarded the advantage to the States, and the light in which the measures adopted were viewed by the people generally.

The improvements, in every respect, introduced under British supervision have been most striking; but unhappily few of them have been allowed to survive for any length of time after the restoration of the charge to the Native ruler; and though the people generally thoroughly appreciate them and desire their maintenance, there is no confidence, and but little expectation amongst them, in any case, of such a result.

My experience of the estimation in which the temporary British management of Native States, as contrasted with the rule of the Native Chiefs, is held by the people generally, is wholly in favor of the former. Years after such management has been withdrawn, it is spoken of, and alluded to, with expressions of satisfaction, and of sorrow at its having been replaced by the Native system.

22. I will only add that it is impossible to pass from Native to British territory, and *vice versâ*, without being struck by the vast difference, in every essential respect, between them and the people inhabiting them; and no British Officer, or servant of the Crown, can, I should think, note this difference without a feeling of pride and satisfaction.

Major Osborne, C. B., Political Agent, Bhopal.
Captain Bannerman, Bheel Agent.
Captain Cadell, V. C., Deputy Bheel Agent.

23. I will append to this Note reports from the Officers named in the margin on this question, which will be found corroborative of what is stated therein.

I hoped to have been able to furnish one also from the Political Agent of Gwalior, the circumstances of that State affording a better field for remarks on the subject than those of any of the other Chiefships of Central India, but it has not yet come to hand.

I trust it may follow shortly.

From MAJOR WILLOUGHBY OSBORNE, C. B., Political Agent in Bhopal, to Agent, Governor General, for Central India,—(No. 138, dated Bhopal Agency, Sehore, 29th July 1867).

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Confidential Circular calling for opinion regarding the popularity of our rule, as compared with that of the Native Chiefs.

2. There is no doubt that our Courts are not so popular as they might be, chiefly on account of the numerous Courts of Appeal, and the technicalities of our law. Our under-paid Native officials too often take advantage of the ignorance of the people to make money, but the intelligence and zeal of our officials to a great extent keep these evils in check.

3. In Native States, not only are all the Amlahs corrupt, but the presiding officer too ; and though the force of a trial is gone through, the decision is generally in favor of the person who has paid most. In these Courts the poor have no chance of justice.

4. In our districts the farmer knows how much he will have to pay to the Government. In Native States, though the assessment is not lower than ours, the farmer is liable to all kinds of exactions. The Chief, should he make a tour, has to be presented with a large nuzzeranah. The Sir Soobah, Amil, or Soobah has to be treated in the same way. A birth, marriage, or death in the family of the Chief leads to another exaction. The death of a Chief's elephant leads to another tax called Hateewan, &c.

5. These taxes in themselves are heavy enough ; but when it is considered that, in a Native State, every official through whose hands the tax has to pass expects to reap some benefit from it, the amount realized from the unfortunate farmer becomes nearly doubled, and he never knows how much revenue he may be called on to pay.

6. That our jails are far from being perfect there is no doubt, but no one, who has any knowledge of Native States, can help denouncing the dens of filth and injustice known as jails in Native States, in which prisoners are too frequently tortured, and, unless they can afford to pay the officials, always badly fed, barely clothed, closely packed, and kept filthily dirty. Two instances have come to my notice in Bhopal, which is ruled as well as any Native State in India,—one in which a man, by name Rambuccus, the son of a Talookdar of Bareesiah, was seized when *en route* to petition the Viceroy and sent to Bhopal under a guard: the treatment he received was such that he has entirely lost the use of one leg. The other was one in which a person, called Kuramut Khan, was seized on suspicion of quarrelling in the street: he was acquitted, but he left the lock-up deprived of the use of one hand.

7. During the fifteen years I have been employed in Native States, I have never met an instance of a respectable farmer leaving our territory to settle in a Native State. Occasionally revenue-defaulters escape from our territory into Native States and settle down ; on the other hand, I know of many cases of the reverse having occurred. From the Bareesiah Pergunnah, made over to the Begum of Bhopal, many farmers have left and gone into the Hoshungabad and other neighbouring British territory.

8. If the Natives generally preferred the rule of their own Chiefs to that of our own Government, the Native States ought to be densely populated, and land valuable; but experience shows us, not only that the Native States are not densely populated, but that thousands of acres of valuable land are being uncultivated merely for want of labor.

9. In 1857-58 rebellion raged in our lastly-acquired province, whilst our oldest possessions remained in perfect peace. In 1832 the Pergunnah of Shoojawulpore was made over to the Gwalior Durbar, in exchange for land adjoining the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. The people petitioned against the transfer individually and collectively, describing it in their petition as a grievous calamity. Though Major Henley's assessment of the pergunnah was very heavy, the potails, on learning that an official was being sent by the Durbar to receive charge of the pergunnah, came forward and stated that, if the object of the British Government in making over the pergunnah was a pecuniary one, they would guarantee an increase of Rs. 35,000 per annum (*i. e.*, 35 per cent.) provided they were allowed to remain under British rule.

10. Their petition not meeting with any success, a large number of them left the pergunnah and collected in a neighbouring village belonging to Indore; an outbreak was imminent, and was only prevented by the interference of the Resident at Indore. Mr. Wilkinson, in reporting the matter, wrote—"if the ryots who were hitherto remarkable for their quiet submission are not protected from the rapacity and exactions of the local authorities, they will be driven into rebellion and other lawless acts."

11. For many years after the transfer, the ryots and others constantly petitioned the Political Agent against the oppressive acts of Scindia's officials, and the complaints even now are frequent.

12. The pergunnah of Bareesiah was given to Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal in 1861: the people have ever since overwhelmed the Political Agent with complaints. The assessment of the pergunnah has been more than doubled. Those holding hereditary rights which had been never disputed by our Government during the 40 odd years it was under our administration, are now called on to produce their original grants, though their rights were guaranteed to them by the late Agent, Governor General, for Central India. During my march through the pergunnah, I am always beset with petitions, and go where I may in the district, I find the population much decreased by emigration.

13. The numerous guaranteed Thakoors in these parts are most tenacious of their rights to be under the order of our Government, and not answerable to the more powerful Chiefs.

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**From Captain P. W. Bannerman, Bheel Agent, to the Agent, Governor General, for Central India,—(dated Bhopawar Agency, 1st August 1867).**

In reply to your Confidential Circular dated 8th July, transmitting a communication from the Foreign Office in Calcutta, I have the honor to state that there can be no question, in my humble opinion, that

the general masses of the population are undoubtedly more prosperous in British territory than in States under Native rule. They enjoy a settled government, are moderately taxed, and possess far greater security of life and property than in any Native State whatever.

2. There are two points in which the system of British administration differs most essentially from the method pursued in Independent States, *viz.*, the revenue and judicial branches.

3. As regards the first of these, there is no doubt whatever that, under the British Government, the landholder and the agricultural class generally have been treated by the Government with every consideration and kindness, the assessment is light, and individuals holding land have the satisfaction of knowing that they are liable only for the fixed assessment which will not be altered capriciously or hastily, and that they will be entitled to some compensation for any improvements they may have made.

4. On the other hand, under a Native government the assessment generally is very heavy; for although the actual sum demanded as the Government due may not be excessive, the contributions which, under a variety of heads, the cultivator has to pay make up a large amount; the holders of land also have no guarantee that the assessment will remain unaltered even for the time originally fixed.

5. The system of short leases (very frequently, if not generally, only for a year), which is so much in favor with Native Chiefs, is in every way objectionable: the renter has but little interest in the improvement of the country, and looks only to his own profit.

6. The pecuniary interest also which the governing class have in the country is most prejudicial to a good system of government. Self-interest and self-enjoyment are always preferred to the prosperity of either the present or future generations.

7. There may have been a few instances in which ryots under the British Government have migrated to a Native State; but these are quite the exception, whilst instances of the reverse are far more general.

8. With regard to the judicial branch; as I have been nearly all my service (13 years out of 15) in the Native States of Rajpootana and Central India, I am not in a position to offer an opinion as to the light in which the working of our Courts is generally viewed by our own subjects. When, however, I have discussed the question with Natives of both the higher and lower classes, the defects they have complained of are the vexatious delays of our Courts, and the manner in which they assert the law can be strained.

9. In the purely governed Native States, with which I have any intimate acquaintance, there is but a very feeble attempt to administer justice in the strict sense of the word.

10. The principle with us, that in the eye of the law all are equal, is not only practically ignored in a Native State, but is positively distasteful to all who exercise any authority therein. They cannot understand even in theory, far less attempt to carry into practice, the idea that justice ought to be meted out equally to the noble and the ryot.

11. I can, in two instances, speak with personal knowledge of the views with which the general mass of the population regards a transfer from British to Native rule.

12. I was Assistant Superintendent at Neemuch when the exchange question with the Maharajah Scindia first came under discussion, and the almost unanimous wish of the people was to remain as they were, and many were the verbal appeals made to me to this effect by men of all classes. They all viewed with dread the uncertain demands which would in all probability be made on them in the shape of nuzzeranah, extra cesses for one thing or another, and were most averse to the transfer. I have never been near Neemuch since that time, but I have constantly met or heard from old Native acquaintances, and they all agree in regretting the removal of the British superintendency. They assert that neither life nor property is so safe as it was, that nothing is being done in the way of roads, and that the administration of the Courts is dilatory and uncertain to a degree.

13. In Dhar again, which is under my immediate supervision, the mass of the people have little faith in the administration of justice, and from the complaints I have received, I fear they have little reason to have any, and they are, I believe, sincere in their expressions of regret that the system observed during the British management of the State is no longer in force.

14. The clever and ambitious men—the military and the religious class—have undoubtedly a larger and more congenial sphere for their abilities in a Native State than under the British Government, whilst, as regards the trading and agricultural class, I believe them to be much better off in every way under our administration than under Native rule.

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From CAPTAIN T. CADELL, V. C., Deputy Bheel Agent and Political Assistant, to the Agent to the Governor General for Central India,—(dated Camp Indore, 31st July 1867).

In reply to your confidential communication on the question of the method of government in Native States possessing, in the estimation of the Natives, any superiority over the system of British administration in India, I beg to state that I have had an excellent opportunity of forming a judgment on this question.

When I assumed the appointment of Assistant Political Agent in Nimar in 1861, the subject of giving a portion of that Province to Holkar was mooted, and I cannot describe the alarm and the detestation of the measure evinced by the inhabitants of the perguunahs which it was supposed would be made over. The great majority of the inhabitants were cultivators; and as they had been under British Government for forty years, their aversion to the measure might have been ascribed to the dislike to change of any kind generally evinced by that class, but that this was not the reason was clearly proved to me afterwards.

On the transfer of Nimar to the Central Provinces in 1864, my connection with the district ceased; but I had occasion to march through a large portion of it in the following year. By that time the

new system of administration had been introduced, and they naturally did not at once appreciate its advantages, as they had been most happy and contented under the old system. They were apprehensive of further changes, and did not fully comprehend those that had already taken place. Notwithstanding all this, their aversion to being made over to Holkar was evidently as great as ever.

I had numerous conversations on the subject with all classes of the community; indeed, it was almost the only subject of conversation at the time, and all were of one mind in the matter. As I had ceased to be connected with Nimar, and had never been connected with the Central Provinces, the opinions they expressed could not have been with any view of pleasing me.

In taking the above statement into consideration, it ought to be borne in mind that the inhabitants of British Nimar are well acquainted with the manner in which administration is carried in the Holkar State, as Nimar is conterminous with that State on three sides, and British and Holkar villages are in some parts much intermixed. Moreover, the inhabitants of both districts are composed of exactly the same classes, and are on most intimate terms with each other.

The Native State of Burwanie has been under British management since 1861; but it would hardly be worth while to compare its previous with its present condition, as it has been even worse managed under its Native ruler than Native States usually are.

It will be sufficient to say that all its peaceable and respectable inhabitants are as averse to being surrendered to the rule of their Rana as those of Nimar are to being made over to Holkar.

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Memorandum by W. C. ANDERSON, ESQ., Survey and Settlement Commissioner, Southern Mahratta Country,—(Dated 24th August 1867).

I enclose the memorandum called for by your letter of the 1st July last. I regret that a very severe illness should have made me so late in sending it in.

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Though undoubtedly people do occasionally grumble and contrast unfavorably British rule with that which formerly prevailed, I exceedingly doubt if the grumblers themselves really mean what they say, or would, for one moment, even when smarting under some special annoyance, set British rule, as a whole, below that formerly or at present existing under Native administration.

2. In the southern half of the Bombay Presidency, with which alone I have an intimate knowledge, the Nizam is the only great and purely Native State, with the administration of which the people are cognizant; and most certainly the lot of the people there is not envied by the inhabitants of our territories. A petitioner in which desiring to paint his grievances in the strongest terms, winds up with the assertion that his wrong is "such as could only be paralleled in the Mogalee," or "worse than this is not done in the Mogalee." The "Mogalee," or

Nazim's government, though it has greatly improved in character of late years, being, from old tradition, considered to express the acme of misrule.

3. It may be asked why the inhabitants did not emigrate into adjacent British territory at the time such misrule prevailed in the Nazim's provinces. First, a Native is a very long-suffering animal, and his local affections are very strong; he will endure much before he makes up his mind to permanently leave the spot where he and his forefathers have lived and died from time immemorial. Next, in the worst managed Native State there was always a certain admixture of good and bad treatment of the ruled, what the people call *nurm gurm*; gross oppression did not come home to every one, and he who escaped for the time had a certain satisfaction in seeing suffering touch his neighbours without reaching himself. There was too always the chance of a stroke of luck from the caprice of some great man. Stories of poor men suddenly made rich exercised a powerful influence over the minds of a very ignorant people with habits unsettled by centuries of doubt as to who would reap where one sowed, and a consequent marked aversion to steady labor. Consequently, the imaginary "chances for a poor man" appeared much greater under the fast and loose Native, than under the steady equality of British, administration, which holds out no hopes, except as the reward of steady persistent labor.

4. Again, it was no easy matter for a person, desirous of emigrating from Native into British territory, to carry out his intention. The ryot is the milch cow of the State; the object is to get all that can be got out of him, but not to drive him away. It was easy to set up a plausible claim against any intending emigrant, the enforcement of which would strip him of all his property. The plan of Native administration, wherever I have come in contact with it, always provides the materials for the setting up such a claim, in the system of accumulating outstanding balances against individuals resulting from a certain portion of an unrealizable land assessment being foregone every year, but still remaining as an available claim against the ryot. Even where this device did not systematically exist, from the days of Naboth's vineyard downward, in eastern countries, the powers that he would never find any difficulty in establishing some claim against a poor man.

5. Still it must not be supposed that, in spite of all obstacles, emigration from Native States into British territory does not occur on this side of India; the contrary is a fact notorious to every one whose duties have led him to spend much time among frontier villages. Statistics of emigrants into British territory are not available, as no more account is kept of incomers than of outgoers: to obtain returns of any value for a series of years past from the frontier villages would be almost an impossibility. It would be necessary to ascertain the motives inducing each case of emigration both to and from Native territory, before any true conclusion could be drawn.

6. The jagheers and principalities of the Southern Mahratta country should exhibit model specimens of the advantages of Native administration. They vary in area from 100 to about 800 square miles, and are thus not too extensive to preclude considerable personal control, on the part of the rulers, over every detail of the administration. Their powers are full, and they manage the internal affairs of

their States unchecked by British authority, except in cases of gross and notorious misgovernment. These States, which are of more than average fertility of soil, were secured from foreign aggression, consequently their whole surplus revenues, after providing for the legitimate expenses of the State, were available for internal improvements which, however, were entirely neglected. Thirty years ago these Chiefs were, I think, without exception, deeply involved in debt arising from personal extravagance. In some cases economy was enforced by the urgency of the British representative; in other cases the revenues were temporarily sequestered; in two cases long minorities occurred, during which the territory was managed by a regency supervised by the British representative which resulted in the young Chief attaining his majority and succeeding to the management of his principality, not only free of debt, but with an accumulation in his treasury equal to three or four years' revenue. In one of these cases, Jumkhundee, the young Chief, was very carefully educated. He reads, writes, and speaks English with the greatest facility. In both these cases the whole accumulated revenue was squandered, within ten years of accession, in personal extravagance by the Chief, and only two months back a large body of the ryots, inhabitants of the territory of the Jumkhundee Chief, put in a formal protest and petition to the Political Agent against the exactions attempted by their ruler in a recent personal visit of his to the talooka they inhabited. It may easily be understood that no ordinary pressure on the part of the Chief would induce his subjects to resort to such an open act of remonstrance.

7. So far from the people of these Southern Mahratta country States preferring their own form of administration to ours, in the point most closely touching the bulk of the people—the agricultural population—they have given the Chiefs no rest till they consented to allow a revenue settlement of their territories similar to that introduced in the adjacent British territories. The majority of the Chiefs in independent management of their estates have already agreed to this settlement being made by our Survey Department, and some of the settlements have been carried into effect. The remainder will not be long able to refrain from consenting to a similar measure.

8. I append an extract from correspondence which passed some years back relating to the past revenue management of certain lapsed Jagheer Districts, which, as far as the general system goes, is equally applicable to the ordinary management of such States even now. The ryots have, however, in the last thirty years, increased in intelligence, and would not tamely submit to what in old times would have been borne in silence. So far the reflection of our rule has benefited the people in adjacent foreign territory.

9. When the Raichoor Doab, which had been part of the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad and under British administration for some eight years, was about to be restored to the Nizam in 1861, a petition against the measure was, I heard, sent in to the Resident at Hyderabad. It may be most justly urged that it is very easy to get up petitions for or against anything in India; but there could be no doubt whatever about the feeling of the masses of the people there on the subject of their restoration to Native rule.

10. I was myself in the north of Mysore this year at the time of the arrival of the news of the intention to continue the Native dynasty. The intelligence was certainly not received with unmixed pleasure by the masses of the people, or without sinister anticipations for the future. The recollection of what they suffered thirty-five years ago, when the Rajah's administration was unchecked, had not passed away. Of course it may be said that the real sentiments of the people would be concealed from us; but my impression is that, on the whole, the people of this country—the lower and middle classes—are remarkably outspoken and unreticent to those who meet them familiarly, and who they do not suspect of asking questions for some special purpose.

11. Lastly, I think I may adduce the general tenor of the Native Press on this side of India as to the feeling of the more educated classes regarding the comparative advantages of our rule over its predecessors. The independence of this Native Press verges on license; there is not the slightest hesitation in freely discussing and pointing out any defect in our administration; and it must be remembered that the educated classes of Natives are not, in one respect, those from whom the most impartial judgment might be expected, as they must look on us as filling the places which they might, under Native rule, look to occupy themselves.

12. In the British dominions the people see education fostered; useful internal improvements in full progress everywhere; general security for life and property; a wide-spread diffusion of material prosperity; and, on the whole, every man uninterfered with and left free to follow his own pleasure. These advantages, which may be said to exclusively attach to the British territories, are perhaps tempered with some occasional inconveniences and annoyances, especially in the procedure of our Courts of law; but taking the balance of the whole, no Native of reasonable intelligence will, I believe, hesitate for one moment as to which form of administration, the past or present, Native or British, he gives the preference.

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Extract of letter from CAPTAIN W. C. ANDERSON, Superintendent, Revenue Survey, Southern Mahratta Country, to Revenue Survey Commissioner,—(No. 267, dated 26th July 1853).

In relation to Utnee Talooka Settlement, Belgaum Collectorate.

48. Under our Government the land measures and rates obtaining under the Neepaneekur were for want of others continued in use. The assessment on the superior description of land was in general very high. Under the Native system, though the assessment is nominally fixed, it is in practice anything but so. A bargain is made with the ryot from year to year, and he either gets his land at a rate lower than the standard rate, which reduction is known under the name of "Khund Tola," or, if possible, he is induced to engage at the standard, receiving as a make-weight a tract of poor

land rent-free, or at a nominal assessment. A large uncollectable balance is also allowed to remain outstanding from year to year, advantage being taken of any very favorable season to collect as much as possible. The threat of enforcing his claim on this outstanding balance is used by the jagheerdar to compel the ryot to continue to cultivate. The jagheerdar always having a large margin on his side, limits his demands alone by the capacity of the ryot to meet them, and the ryot's capacity is measured alone by the conscience of the jagheerdar. In some jagheers they are ground down to their last rupee, and in others, where a more liberal policy prevails, enjoy considerable ease. A minute knowledge of the means of every cultivator is the basis of the Native system, under which the reveuue of a district may be raised to an amount otherwise unattainable, and yet without actually ruining a single ryot. The acquisition of capital is, however, impossible: there is no incentive to exertion, and progress of any kind is not to be looked for.

In relation to Yadwar Mehal Settlement, Collectorate Belgaum.

71. As before mentioned, this mehal composed part of the estate of Pureshram Bhow Sahib, of Tasgaum, and lapsed to Government on his death in 1849. He was very deeply involved in debt, and his whole estates were mortgaged. This mehal had been for 14 years, previous to the Tasgaum Chief's death, mortgaged nominally to a wealthy sowcar, named Narayen Rao Anunt Walunbeh; but in reality to two karkoons of the sowcar who were designated Kumavisdars, and on whom civil and criminal jurisdiction over this district was conferred. It is not very probable that people of this kind would consider the welfare of the ryots; their sole object would be to get as much as possible out of them, and to this end in fact their whole energies were exerted. The supreme authority still remained with the Chief, and to him accounts were yearly preferred by these two karkoons, and remissions sent up to him for sanction. When sanctioned, and a corresponding deduction made from the net revenue in his accounts with them, a similar amount of remission was by no means extended to the ryots; little or nothing was actually remitted, though payment of what could not be realized at the time might be postponed, and the sum remain as an outstanding balance, the threat of exacting which would be used to deter the ryots from throwing up their land. The extent to which this system was carried may be understood from the fact that, when this district lapsed to Government, the outstanding balances in the ten Government villages amounted to no less than Rs. 78,026: the average gross revenue during the first three years of our rule being Rs. 8,414, of which about one-tenth was remitted. And it did not always occur that the demand of the mortgagees alone were to be dealt with by the ryots, as the Chief, when hard pushed, is said to have secretly collected what he could on his own account. At last, in consequence of the repeated complaints against the two mortgagees, a karkoon was appointed on the part of Government, with the consent of the Chief, to overlook the revenue affairs of the mehal, which induced some amelioration in the state of the people. This system lasted for three years and ceased very shortly before the death of the Chief.

Extract of letter from CAPTAIN G. WINGATE, Revenue Survey Commissioner, to Collector of Belgaum,—(No. 577, dated 24th August 1853).

5. Captain Anderson gives a very clear account of the past revenue management of the three districts. The Hoongoond Talooka has been under Government management since 1818; but the Uthnee Talooka and also the Yadwar division are formed of lapsed jagheers and have only fallen in of late years. Captain Anderson's description of the revenue management of Uthnee and Yadwar under the jagheerdars may, I think, be relied on as correct in its general features, and the wretched picture of misrule which he places before us is, I think, particularly worthy of consideration at the present time, when the ryotwar system and revenue management of this Presidency have been brought into most unmerited disrepute by the evidence of late witnesses in Parliament, and by writers on the India question who have had little or no practical acquaintance with the system, and no opportunities of forming a correct judgment as to its merits or defects.

6. I have had unusually favorable opportunities, during the last few years especially, of observing the much lauded results of settling with zemindars or middlemen for villages or talookas in the gross, instead of with the actual proprietors and cultivators; and what I have learned of the working of the revenue management of the great jagheerdars of the Southern Mahratta Country, of the Khotes of Rutnagherry, and of the Talookdars of Gujarat, has greatly strengthened my previous convictions as to the immeasurable superiority of the system of management for the field assessments of our Presidency, which has gradually been raised on the foundations laid broad and deep by the wisdom of a Munro and an Elphinstone.

7. I have everywhere found that the actual proprietors and cultivators of the soil, with the aid of the village money-lenders, are the real creators of all the wealth to be found in the country, and that it is a grievous delusion to imagine that their efforts are at all assisted by the intervention of middlemen. These, whether Jagheerdars, Khotes, or Talookdars, I have found to be too generally quite indifferent to the welfare of the inferior landholders, and either sunk in sloth and sensual indulgence, or greedy of money for purely selfish objects. The fostering care which they are so generally said to take of their ryots may exist, and does, I do not doubt, in rare instances; but a selfish rapacity, aggravated by the overwhelming debt in which they are almost everywhere plunged, and by the clamorous crowd of greedy relatives and sycophants by whom they are surrounded, is, I should say, the distinguishing characteristic of the middlemen or great landlords of our Presidency.

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Extract of letter from H. W. REEVES, Esq., Acting Revenue Commissioner, Southern Division.* to Secretary to the Government of Bombay,—(No. 277, dated 23rd January 1854).

9. With regard to the observations* of Captain Wingate on the past management of Uthnee and Yadwar, I venture to state, after several years'

* Paragraphs 5 to 7.

* And previously Collector of Belgaum, and Political Agent, Southern Mahratt country.

acquaintance with the management of landholders of the Southern Mahratta country, that there is no greater mistake than that into which many persons have fallen of contrasting Government villages unfavorably with those of landholders. I have had several years of personal acquaintance with the revenue management of the Jagheerdars and Enamdars of the Southern Mahratta country, and I very confidently assert that the alienated villages there will bear no comparison with those belonging to Government in any single particular. The ryots of the latter are in much better circumstances, and considerably happier than those of the former. The depressed condition of the jagheer villages of the Southern Mahratta country is become proverbial, and this, when the embarrassed condition of the Chiefs is considered, together with the reckless means adopted by them to raise money under the farming system, cannot be a matter of surprise. The political records abound with remarks on the mismanagement of these estates, and it is in consequence of this misrule that Government have received Gokak, in a state of extreme poverty, from the Chinchnee Patwardhun; Yadwar, in a still worse condition, from the Tasgaum Patwardhun; and Uthnee, half depopulated, from Appa Dessaee Nepaneekur. The system of farming out mehals and villages to their creditors is that to which I allude as pursued by most landholders. This having been put an end to, and the assessment having been fixed for a period of thirty years at a rate calculated to enable the ryot to realize a fair profit on his holding, all cesses having also been abolished, a solid basis has been laid for improvement, and we may now look forward with confidence to witnessing, in the course of a few years, a considerable change for the better in the condition of the districts to which these remarks refer.

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From C. A. ELLIOTT, ESQ., Futtehgurh, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, —(dated 25th August 1867).

I am afraid I have no information to contribute which will be of any assistance towards the object with which your Circular of July 1st was issued. That the British Administration has secured to its subjects a vast increase in security, prosperity, and material comfort, compared with those it succeeded to, is gross, open, and palpable. The question admits of no discussion. But the comparison Sir John Lawrence wishes to make is not with the Native States which preceded us, but with those which are our contemporaries, and which exist in districts alongside of our districts. Can we prove that our people are more prosperous and happier than those who live in the neighbouring Native States?

On this point I am sorry to say I know nothing which can be put in evidence, nor do I see how it would be possible to prove it. We have statistics of our territories. I know of no statistics of Native States. I can tell you the taxation per head in the Hoshungabad district; the area occupied by each cultivator; the average profits of agriculture to him; the quantity he spends in cloth, in salt, in sugar.

I can give the actual export and the estimated profit of the wheat trade or the cotton trade. I can form a good guess at the number of educated people, or at the severity of the competition for land. But though Bhopal adjoins Hoshungabad, and though I have travelled in Bhopal and talked to the cultivators, and know several of the local Governors, I cannot ascertain any of these facts, nor can any one in Bhopal tell me, respecting Bhopal, the things that I can tell them respecting Hoshungabad. One element of the statistical comparison appears to me to be entirely wanting.

If a comparison is based on the impressions derived from personal observation, it seems to me that nothing can be more delusive. We are, most of us, singularly incapable of finding out by observation facts regarding the circumstances of people which ought to be especially observable. Two instances brought this home to me in a very striking way. When the discussion as to tenant right in Oudh was arising, a writer in the *Calcutta Review* said :—" What good have Mouroosie rights done to the cultivators in the North-west? They have existed for 30 years; but I defy any one to show me that the Mouroosie tenants are better fed, better clad, better housed, free from debt, have better bullocks, or are in any way better off than the tenants-at-will." I put this question to many experienced and sagacious persons, and they all replied that their observation was not acute enough to distinguish the one class of tenants from the other; yet common sense tells us that there must be a distinction, and that it is our powers of observation that are in fault. The second instance that I will mention occurred during the cotton famine, when it was at its height in 1864. Both the most accurate statistics and the universal concensus of the people combined to assure us that the Native looms were almost entirely thrown out of work, and yet that the sales of English piece goods had greatly fallen off. If anything can be called certain, it was certain then, in the face of the great rise in prices, that all men were stinting themselves of clothes, and that the poorer cultivators who used to wear three *dhotees* a year were wearing only two; yet, though I repeatedly put the question, I could find no one who assured me that of his own observation he had noticed that the people generally were going worse clad than usual.

I think, then, in the face of this deficiency both of statistics and of acute perceptions, we must fall back on general arguments and on common sense. If any one asserted to me that Native States were superior to us in their method of government, I should reply that the onus lay on him to prove it, and that the first thing to prove was the existence of any essential difference in the *method* of government. My impression is, that the better a Native State is, the more it approaches our system. In Bhopal, which is probably the best Native government in India, I really know of no difference that exists in theory; practically, the government is laxer, less rigid, and more in sympathy with the governed. We can show that our administration is based on sound principles; that it is a government of great ideas; that it is carried on with scrupulous honesty and a constant desire after justice and right; and therefore the presumption that it secures material prosperity is so

violent, that it would need an extraordinary amount of evidence on the other side to rebut that presumption in the mind of any unprejudiced man.

But I would not go beyond this. I do not think the people are happier under us than under Native government; and if they were, I do not see how it could be proved; nor does it seem to me likely that they should be happier. Our Government, from the mere fact of its being a government of great ideas, has in it something of strain and tension, and, so far as it comes into contact with the people, must communicate that tension to them. With the higher minds, perhaps, it should be popular, but to the people at large it assumes almost a pedagogic attitude: they are as it were a school to us. Now, though popularity is a good thing in a school master, we do not consider that the most popular teacher is necessarily the best.

We assume, and history and the consent of the civilised world justify us in assuming, that we are placed by Providence in India for the good and the improvement of the people, to educate and stimulate them up to such a point that they may at last be able to govern themselves. As long as this work remains for us to do, we cannot be really popular. If we were popular, it would show that the people understood and appreciated our aims, that our thoughts awakened an answering chord in their minds; in other words, that we had done our work and brought the people up to a moral and intellectual level with ourselves, and that it was time for us to retire from the scene. It seems to me obvious that no government can be really popular with a people which is not the natural outcome of the minds and habits of the people, or at least of a large number of them. A government, therefore, confessedly ahead of the people, which deliberately sets itself to raise and improve them, cannot, especially if it is a government *ab extero* by a foreign race, hope to be popular.

Is the half-tamed tiger in its cage happier than the wild beast in the jungle? Is the half-tamed savage in an Arkansas farm happier than the free Indian on the Red River? Better off in material prosperity no doubt; happier *sua si bona norint*, as the Viceroy says, but not absolutely happier, or rather not always happier. And the moments when his brutish nature re-asserts itself in wild rage against civilisation, are the moments which bring him most before the notice of the world, and which seem to give the key-notes to his character and feelings. It is the same with the Hindoostani. Though I would not, of course, place him so low in the scale as the Red Indian, still there is something wild and untamed in him which breaks out at times, and which disquiets him in his sleekest moments. I believe the point in which our Government chiefly fails to meet his views is not so much its want of a career as its want of chances. The distinction I draw is that a Native is indignant, not that he cannot rise by merit, but that he cannot rise by luck. The gambling spirit is ingrained into them by centuries of sudden rises and falls, and for this spirit our administration affords no opening. To their minds, at least in their unquiet moments, it seems better that one Azimgurh Koormie should become Dewan at Lucknow, and 20,000 Koormies be tortured to death by Rughbeer Dial in Baraitch, than that all the Koormies in India hould live in peace and prosperity, and none should ever become a

Rajah. This is only one of several instances that might be given in which their instincts are opposed to ours, and clearly it is not we who should yield. All nations in turn have gone through this process of taming and settling down. Unless we fail utterly as a government, we shall succeed in eradicating these turbulent instincts; but till we do that, we cannot hope to be as popular as the Native governments which gratify and pamper those instincts.

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From COLONEL G. RAMSAY, Nepal Residency, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated 26th August 1867).

In reply to your letter, "Confidential," of the 1st ultimo, I regret that I am unable to refer you to any records bearing upon the subject of your enquiry, *viz.*, whether, in the estimation of the Natives of India, the system of the British Administration possesses any superiority over the method of government pursued in the Independent States. I can merely give you my individual opinion, based upon a service of five and twenty years at the Courts of Lucknow, Nagpore, and Nepal, not only that the British system is really far superior to that of the Native governments, but that it is universally recognized as such by those of the Natives who have been able to compare the two.

The relative merit of the two systems has repeatedly been discussed in general terms, in my presence, by Natives of rank and intelligence, and always to the advantage of our own rule. Of course, however, those who exercise authority, or hope to attain power, had much rather remain as they are, untrammelled by rules which militate against their own personal interests.

The difference between the two systems may be said to be this: Under the British rule the interests and the happiness of the masses is seriously considered, whereas in a Native Independent State these are the last things thought of.

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Note by LIEUT. COLONEL E. THOMSON, 1st Assistant to Agent, Governor General for Central India, on the general question of the opinion entertained by the Natives of India as to the superiority or otherwise of the system of British Administration in India over that which obtains in the Independent States,—(Dated 26th August 1867).

As far as my experience goes, I have found the system of Native government to be loose, disjointed, and essentially wanting in vitality. Through an ever active, though exquisitely concealed, spirit of mutual suspicion and distrust, running from the Chief to his Minister, and thence downwards to the lowest official, unity of action is practically excluded from any branch of the administration; the distribution of justice and the collection of revenue are left to chance; the consideration of security of life and property degenerates into a question of might against right, and the idea of law and order becomes a dead letter.

2. The official charged with the administration of justice is frequently uneducated and generally corrupt, consequently the baser instincts of his nature prompt him to offer his justice for sale, more particularly because the animosity of some other official may bring on him the displeasure of the chief, with loss of office, heavy fine, penury, and degradation; for any or all of these calamities may befall him in a day. At times, to conciliate the chief, he offers him a yearly sum out of the proceeds he realises; and I have known of the chief officer of the Adalut being selected as the one who made the highest offer for the contract for distributing justice. On one occasion, this happened to be a woman who nominated her substitute to sit in Court, on an understanding that he should receive a fixed salary. Once when seated in cutcherry, directing the proceedings of the Durbar—all arrangements of this nature having been, of course, put a stop to—I was surprised to see a petitioner present himself with a suit, and at the same moment draw forth a silver ornament, which he placed on the table, with the intimation that this was what he could afford for an award in his favor.

3. While the poorer classes had thus to pay for justice, there were men of position or of wealth to whom was permitted the privilege of recovering claims due to them in a different manner. Some of these men exercised as complete control over the persons of their debtors as if they were their slaves: imprisoned them in their own dwelling-houses, denying all egress, even for purposes of nature, and reducing them almost to the point of starvation. Indeed, as the actions of such men were unquestioned, there is no reason to doubt that death did result, at times, from the severity of the treatment they inflicted. Should the unhappy debtor seek safety in flight, his house and property, however valuable, became the perquisite of his creditor; and his family, if remaining behind, was liable to be incarcerated, as he would have been. I have myself restored to a man, who thus absconded from having been badly treated, his house and property, and released his family from restraint, desiring his creditor to adopt the proper method to recover his debt, and considerable irritation among the wealthy classes was the result of my summarily stopping the barbarous custom that prevailed in this matter.

4. In the same way has criminal justice been dispensed prisoners are inconvenient in Native States; fines therefore become a source of revenue, and he who commits a heinous offence may secure the opportunity of repeating his crime by paying according to his means. A man may even commit very serious offences and escape altogether unpunished if he be a favorite follower in the chief's personal retinue. I have adjudicated in a case where a personal attendant on the chief roamed over the country, seizing and driving away cattle as "lawaris" (without owners), and appropriating property under the same pretence, till he became a perfect scourge, no one daring to complain against him, the owners of the cattle even hesitating to claim their property. It was quite surprising what amount of positive animosity against the chief was created by the universal feeling of insecurity this man kept alive.

5. It is well known that a great many Native States foster a class of men who make their livelihood by petty thefts. These men

are not so much dangerous at home as within our own well governed British districts; they sally forth from their villages at the fixed time of the year, not in bodies, but in twos or threes, or even singly, the veriest children being sent out on these occasions; they go to long distances,—north, south, east, and west,—throwing a regular net-work of petty depredation over the whole continent, and returning, after long absence, to their friends; they give a portion of their plunder to the chief, either in kind, or a yearly contribution, and divide the rest. I knew a village which was altogether peopled by this class, and I was gravely informed by the Durbar that a yearly income was drawn from this village after their annual expeditions. It is right to say that my suggestion was at once adopted to introduce a periodical muster of the villagers, to remit their yearly contribution, and to give them land to cultivate.

6. The few prisoners who are unfortunate enough to be incarcerated in Native States lead a life the most deplorable. I have seen such men stowed away in the most obscure part of a fort surrounded by filth, themselves unwashed, unshorn, and almost unclad; really more like men escaped from a herd of savages than human beings, likely, at some future period, to mix with their fellowmen.

7. But sometimes there are men who are treated even worse than these prisoners. I have known of a Thakoor, calling himself a noble, tying up to a tree, by his wrists, a man obnoxious to him, quite close to a populous city where the Ranee, then the head of the administration, held her Court. The unfortunate victim, after being beaten, has been wounded with a spear, and then cast, with his sores open and bleeding, into a place of confinement uncared for and unattended; maggots sprung up in his sores, and finally death released him from suffering.

8. The system of revenue collections I have been introduced to in Native government is eminently calculated to cause the finest estate rapidly to deteriorate. If the treasury is drained, a full instalment of land revenue is anticipated. On such occasions I found a demand was made on wealthy bankers, and permission was given them to recover the revenue when due. They advanced the money on account of the zemindars, who had to pay not only exorbitant interest, but other charges of various descriptions. A second instalment would be anticipated in the same manner. Under such a system, settlement was impossible, and the agricultural classes—the real wealth of a State—became ground down to a state of positive slavery; for they never knew what they must pay as revenue, or when they must pay it. If their crops were good, the demand of the State increased. To realise from the soil the sum oppressively extorted from them was their only object in the present; to die at the plough their only prospect in the future. The banker extorted from the zemindar, the zemindar from the cultivator, and the latter gave his last farthing, and prayed to be left alone.

9. The introduction of an altered system amid this misery was the cause of universal joy; and it is well known to the Agent, Governor General, that when this unhappy system of the Native government was gradually and gently replaced by one founded on the

principles that obtain in our own districts, there followed general prosperity and satisfaction, a flourishing treasury, and increase of revenue.

10. But if I were to take up every department of administration, I should swell these remarks to a serious length. Suffice it to say that the natural condition of a Native government is one which gives no dignity to its ruler, no respectability to its officials, and no security or happiness to its people.

11. It is not the duty of Political Officers to parade the errors of Native administrations, where they have been placed to smooth what is rough, and to soften what is harsh. But the above observations have been called for by the desire of the Agent, Governor General, that I should submit any remarks bearing on the question in point from the experience I may have acquired during an unbroken résidence of upwards of four years in Native States while in charge of three Native administrations.

12. In conclusion, I may observe that wherever improvement was effected in the points above noted, it was through the introduction of measures found to have been beneficial in British districts; and whenever a Chief or a Durbar desired reform, it was always proposed to introduce such reform by following the principles of government in British territory.

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From T. C. HOPE, ESQ., to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Surat, 28th August 1867).

In reply to your letter of July 1st, I am glad to state that I do not feel the slightest doubt that the conclusion of His Excellency the Viceroy, that the masses of the people are incontestably more prosperous and happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers, is a sound one. I hope you will excuse my adding that my opinion has been formed after having enjoyed, as you are aware, somewhat exceptional opportunities for contrasting the two in almost all parts of our Presidency.

The question must of course always remain to a certain extent a matter of opinion, owing to the great difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics; but I will mention a few instances within my own knowledge,—(1), of the relative condition of the people in British and Native territories contiguous to each other; and (2), of the preference for our rule shown by the people of the latter.

A glance at the map will show that the Surat district is to a considerable extent intermixed with certain territory belonging to His Highness the Guikwar, a fact chiefly owing to the 28 pergunnahs, called the Attaveesee, having been divided between the Peshwa and the Guikwar, and to our having by various treaties succeeded to the rights of the former. As the pergunnahs held by the two Powers respectively lie in close juxtaposition and partake of the same characteristics, they are peculiarly adapted for a comparison of the nature required.

The accompanying statement shows the present condition of ten of the Guikwar's pergunnahs, compared with seven talookos of our own. The figures for the latter are of course absolutely correct; those for the

former are, I believe, very reliable, having been obtained from highly respectable private sources. The first point observable is the extreme oppressiveness of the Guikwar's revenue collections. His maximum rates, compared with ours, are summarised in the margin, and the extent to which they are imposed is evidenced by the fact that his cultivated area, though less than ours in the proportion of 22 to 100, yields a gross revenue 19 per cent. larger. Our collections give an average of Rs. 2-8 per beegah, whereas his amount to Rs. 13-5 per beegah. It is also undoubted that his collections are made in the manner most oppressive to the people. In many parts the produce is shared in kind, and the Guikwar's officials attach the crops when ripe and prevent their being cut till security has been furnished, and various petty exactions have been submitted to. If a man raises two or three crops from his land the process is repeated with each. The demands, where in cash, are often quite arbitrary, and composed of a variety of complicated cesses and items which the cultivators can ill understand. The obvious result of such a system is, that we have 77 per cent. of our culturable area in cultivation, while the Guikwar has only 40 per cent.

| | British. | | Guikwar. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Maximum per Beegah. | Average Maximum per Beegah | Maximum per Beegah. | Average Maximum per Beegah. |
| | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| Dry crop ... | 8 | 5 | 20 | 14 |
| Garden land ... | 16 | 8½ | 45 | 26 |
| Rice .. | 17 | 10½ | 30 | 23 |

Another method of comparison, and a test of the correctness of the above statements, is afforded by the deed of partition of A. D. 1751 between the Peshwa and Guikwar, and the schedule appended to the Treaty of Bassein. The revenue of 14 of the pergunnahs retained by the Guikwar is shown in the former as Rs. 5,92,500, whereas I have ascertained that it is now Rs. 24,85,000, being an increase of 310 per cent. Only three of the pergunnahs in that list, which we now possess, happen to be so shown as to allow of comparison; but I find that in them the revenue has risen from Rs. 2,41,500 to Rs. 5,44,000 —an increase of only 125 per cent. But that this is a reliable average for the whole is clear by reference to the Treaty of Bassein, which shows that the seven talookas already referred to, and yielding (see statement) Rs. 20,95,000, were then estimated at Rs. 9,52,000, that is, the revenue has increased 120 per cent. in our time. That even these increases are in our case greatly attributable to increased cultivation, but in the Guikwars to increased demands, following the rise of prices and leaving the ryot now, as formerly, a bare subsistence, may be safely inferred from the large proportion of the Guikwar's land still uncultivated.

It may be objected that the Guikwar's is an extreme case. There are, no doubt, many of the indigenous States of Guzerat which are far better administered and more liberal; but still, as far as I have seen, I think that the average of their revenue demands is considerably above ours. And the same is observable in all alienated villages within our own territory.

The truth of this conclusion is supported by the very appearance of the two territories: the British border seeming to me, in nine cases out of ten, to be distinguishable as we cross it by road or rail, in the extended cultivation and more well-to-do appearance of the people, their dress, and their dwellings.

I will now turn to the second head, and mention very briefly a few instances of the preference of the people for our rule, which I believe to be a general sentiment wherever they have the opportunity of comparing the two.

*(a)*.—I was all through the Powaghur Punch Mahals in 1856, only 2½ years after we had received the management of them from His Highness the Scindia, and found the people everywhere openly expressing their satisfaction at the change.

*(b)*.—When, in 1862 and 1868, I was Collector of Ahmedabad, which is a district almost entirely surrounded by Native States, the immigration from the latter was considerable. In one instance a batch of immigrants founded a village.

*(c)*.—Two years ago the oppression in one of the Guikwar's pergunnahs, contiguous to this district, was so intolerable that the people left a large proportion of their land waste, and applied in large numbers to my predecessor for permission to settle in our territory.

*(d)*.—I have at present before me officially a proposal from certain subjects of the Guikwar to take up the whole waste land (91,000 beegahs) of the pergunnah of Mandvee in this district, and bring it into cultivation within a fixed time, peopling it with immigrants from the Guikwar's territory. They offer to bring 5,000 this year.

There can be no doubt that immigration would be far more extensive even than it is if, on the one hand, it were our practice to encourage it by assisting the new comers to build huts, sink wells, &c.; and on the other, the Guikwar did not resort to the severest measures to put a stop to it—confiscating all property left behind, and often imprisoning the relatives of the emigrants into the bargain.

The comparisons which I have hitherto made have been fiscal only. As regards civil and criminal justice no statistics are available, and I can only affirm that I believe the superiority of our system (in spite of certain drawbacks, such as ignorance of the language) to be as marked in this particular as in the other, and to be as generally admitted by all foreign subjects who have an opportunity of observing it. In some Native States very creditable efforts at improvement are being made, though the result is still trifling; but in the majority the old system still flourishes, though in one or two instances it is cloaked by a semblance of complete reform, and the old officials are at their old practices under new high sounding titles, and with codes at their elbow.

In conclusion, I much regret the delay which has occurred in submitting this report, which is owing to the difficulty of obtaining statistics.

*Comparative Statement of the present condition of certain British and Guikwar Territories.*

**BRITISH TALOOKAS.**

| Numbers. | Names of Talookas. | Area. Cultivated Land. | Area. Uncultivated Land. | Area. Total. | Revenue from all sources. | Rates. Dry Crop. From | Rates. Dry Crop. To | Rates. Garden Crop. From | Rates. Garden Crop. To | Rates. Rice Crop. From | Rates. Rice Crop. To |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Beegahs | Beegahs | Beegahs. | Rs. | Rs. A | Rs. A. | Rs. A. | Rs. A. | Rs. A. | Rs. A. |
| 1 | Oolpar ... | 1,47,997 | 27,293 | 1,75,290 | 5.45,479 | 1 8 | 7 8 | 3 8 | 10 0 | 3 0 | 10 6 |
| 2 | Soopa ... | 66,301 | 18,056 | 84,357 | 2,68,294 | 1 14 | 5 0 | 3 0 | 16 0 | 1 14 | 17 0 |
| 3 | Bulsar ... | 2,00,002 | 39,912 | 2,39,914 | 3.34,996 | 0 8 | 8 0 | 3 0 | 14 0 | 1 8 | 14 0 |
| 4 | Mandvee... | 67,868 | 91,736 | 1,59,604 | 1,27,562 | 0 10 | 5 12 | ... | ... | 3 0 | 6 10 |
| 5 | Chowrasee. | 33,651 | 1,446 | 35,097 | 1,69,989 | 4 1 | ... | 7 1 | ... | 7 10 | ... |
| 6 | Bardolee... | 1,74,729 | 31,755 | 2,06,494 | 4,02,606 | 3 8 | ... | 6 12 | ... | 9 6 | ... |
| 7 | Chicklee ... | 1,54,331 | 38,442 | 1,92,773 | 2,46,445 | 2 3 | ... | 6 12 | ... | 8 13 | ... |
| | | 8,44,879 | 2,48,640 | 10,93,519 | 20,95,371 | | | | | | |

**GUIKWAR'S PERGUNNAHS.**

| Numbers. | Names of Pergunnahs. | Area. Cultivated Land. | Area. Uncultivated Land. | Area. Total. | Revenue from all sources. | Rates. Dry Crop. From | Rates. Dry Crop. To | Rates. Garden Crop. From | Rates. Garden Crop. To | Rates. Rice Crop. From | Rates. Rice Crop. To |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Beegahs | Beegahs | Beegahs | Rupees. | Rs. A. | Rs A. | Rs. A. | Rs. A. | Rs. A. | Rs. A. |
| 1 | Wusravee ... | 29,877 | 78,587 | 1,08,464 | 2,76,000 | 5 0 | 8 0 | ... | ... | 15 0 | 17 0 |
| 2 | Buleswur ... | 31,426 | 43,689 | 75,115 | 3,50,000 | 7 0 | 12 0 | 25 0 | 33 0 | 25 0 | 30 0 |
| 3 | Timba ... | 21,275 | 20,022 | 41,297 | 1,57,000 | 7 0 | 10 0 | 20 0 | 25 0 | 15 0 | 22 0 |
| 4 | Murolee ... | 13,621 | 24,684 | 38,305 | 1,60,000 | 10 0 | 11 0 | 25 0 | 35 0 | 15 0 | 25 0 |
| 5 | Galla ... | 15,447 | 41,483 | 56,930 | 1,95,000 | 10 0 | 19 0 | 20 0 | 25 0 | 15 0 | 17 0 |
| 6 | Gundevee ... | 18,115 | 17,134 | 35,249 | 1,80,000 | 15 0 | 17 0 | 35 0 | 45 0 | 25 0 | 30 0 |
| 7 | Kusba Vuriav | 5,443 | 4,364 | 9,807 | 54,000 | 9 4 | ... | 9 4 | ... | 9 4 | ... |
| 8 | „ Nuwsaree | 4,219 | 3.616 | 7,835 | 59,000 | 15 0 | 17 0 | 34 0 | 45 0 | 25 0 | 30 0 |
| 9 | Kamrage ... | 17,085 | 20,463 | 37,548 | 2,21,000 | 4 8 | 20 0 | 22 0 | 25 0 | 15 0 | 25 0 |
| 10 | Telalee ... | 30,079 | 11,131 | 41,210 | 3,00,000 | 15 0 | 20 0 | 25 0 | 33 0 | 20 0 | 25 0 |
| | | 1,86,587 | 2 65,173 | 4,51,760 | 19,52,000 | | | | | | |
| | Add Nuzzurana ... ... | | | | 5,32,900 | | | | | | |
| | Total ... Rs. | | | | 24,84,900 | | | | | | |

T. C. HOPE.

From the HON'BLE A. A. ROBERTS, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Murrie, 29th August 1867).

Your letter of 1st July invites me to supply you with any statements which my experience may enable me to furnish, to show the estimation in which the system of British administration in India is held by the Natives, as compared with the method of government pursued in the Native States.

No mean authority on this subject, Sir John Malcolm, expressed the following opinion of the effect upon the Natives of the introduction of English rule:—"Our success and moderation, as compared with the misrule and violence to which a great part of the population of India have for more than a century been exposed, have at this moment raised the reputation of the British name so high that men have forgotten their feelings of patriotism in the contemplation of the security and prosperity they enjoy under strangers."

The above remark is as true now as it was when it was uttered 40 years ago. The same effect occurs as every new province comes under British sway. The people feel thankful that every man can sit under his vine and under his fig tree, and for the peace, security, and order which reign.

Then it is notorious that the inhabitants of Native States do, more or less, immigrate into British territory, and rarely return to their own countries, unless the latter happen to come under British rule.

This was the case with Oudh (*vide* last census report of the North-Western Provinces), and more recently with Bhawulpore. The Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery (late Gogaira district) informs me that numbers of persons, who had settled in his district to escape the misrule which used to prevail in Bhawulpore, had returned to that country since it had come under the management of the British Government. There are numerous villages in the Sirsa and Hissar districts which have been founded since we took possession of that part of the country, and are inhabited chiefly, if not entirely, by immigrants from Bikaneer, Bhawulpore, and, to a more limited extent, from the Sikh States to the north. I may cite also the teeming colonies of Cashmere shawl-weavers who form no inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of the cities of Amritsur and Loodiana, and who are also settled in great numbers at Jelalpore, in the Guzerat, at Soojanpore, in the Goordaspore, and at Noorpore, in the Kangra district. It is no secret that these people, with their families to the number of many thousands, will not return to their own country on account of the oppression and exactions to which they are there liable, and that their numbers are constantly increased by fresh immigrants. Another proof of the sense of security under British rule is the number of foreign Pathan soldiers in the Punjab Frontier Force; the number of Affghan merchants who annually penetrate with their goods as far as Calcutta, and the increasing numbers of Hazaras "from the hills beyond Cabool," and of Zadroons "from a wild district in the vicinity of Kelat-i-Ghilzie," who used formerly to get no further than the Peshawur Valley (see paragraph 292 of Major James' Report on the Settlement of the

Peshawur district), but are now to be met with in crowds as contractors and navvies along the Grand Trunk Road as far as Lahore, and wherever there are Public Works in progress.

Again, thousands of jampanees and thousands more of workmen and labourers of all sorts stream in from Cashmere to Murrie, and from the neighbouring Native States to Dalhousie, Simla, Mussoorie, and Darjeeling, for several months every year.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the Natives, whether of our own territories or of Native States, do feel that there is greater security for person and property, and more peace, order, and regularity under British, than under Native rule.

It is some years since a Native gentlemen, a Mahomedan of Moradabad, remarked to me that in four respects our Government was superior to any Native administration. These were, daftar, lashkar, shâh-râh, and tankhah. Certainly since the days of Akbar, India has seen nothing deserving the name of a dafter or of a shâh-râh, until these were introduced by ourselves. Todur Mull had no idea of fixed salaries paid monthly, or of superannuation pensions. Hyder Ali, or Scindia of old, or Runjeet Singh, with all their appreciation of standing armies and of French and Italian Officers to discipline them, were far behind us in military organization. I believe that all Natives, especially after conquest or annexation, appreciate the four cardinal points in our administration which excited the admiration of my Moradabad friend. They justly consider our *bundobast*, our arrangements in these respects, very superior to any analogous Native institution; but they are not slow to perceive our weak points even in these matters.

I think, too, that they have a general idea of our good intention, our sense of justice, our moderation, and our great power. I believe that these sentiments and feelings induce large numbers of foreigners from ill-governed Native States to settle in our territories. I have no doubt that for one instance of immigration from British to Native territory, thousands of instances of immigration from Native into British territory may be adduced. Still I question whether the assertion made in your 3rd paragraph, that the masses of the people are incontestably more prosperous, "and (*sua si bonâ norint*) far more happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers," is not too broadly stated.

Certain sections of the people, as the smaller landed proprietors or a portion of them, and also some of the trading classes, are perhaps better off than they were; but the masses,—the tenants, and farm-labourers, artizans, domestic servants, and others,—earn, no more in British territory than elsewhere, aught but a bare subsistence for themselves and their families. The price of food and of all the necessaries of life has risen so enormously within the last few years that I doubt, although there has in some parts been a proportionate rise in wages, whether the masses are so prosperous as they were before the mutiny, or as they used to be under the Native Governments. An intelligent Native observed to me the other day that it was the general remark that famine prices had prevailed for several years. I have certainly observed that, for the last six or seven years, the average price

of wheat-flour in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab has not exceeded eighteen or twenty seers for the rupee, while the price of rice in Bengal has been rather dearer. These rates are to the masses famine prices, and the people feel and say that these prices are one result of British rule. Another remark which the same individual made to me was that the idea was very prevalent that sickness had greatly increased under our rule; that people were not so robust as they used to be, and that they rarely now-a-days attained to an old age.

I have long been under the impression that the mortality among Natives is excessive, and the census of the North-Western Provinces, which was taken in 1865, and which shows a decrease of upwards of a quarter of a million on the population of 1853, tends to confirm this view. It is unreasonable to attribute this diminution either entirely, or in any great measure, to the mutiny. A decade has since passed, and there has been ample time for an increase of population. The people talk of these things and attribute them partly, if not entirely, to a visitation of God, consequent upon the introduction of British rule, and draw an inference unfavorable to it.

I accordingly see reason to doubt whether the people at large either think themselves, or really are, more prosperous or more happy under our rule than they were under Native Governments. I have no doubt myself that India is progressing towards material and moral improvement; but I do not think that we have done all that we might and ought to have done, nor have we been at the pains to convince the people of what we are doing for them. The gulf between us and our Native subjects is becoming wider year by year. It is wider in Bengal than in the North-Western Provinces, and it is wider in the latter than in the Punjab. It is becoming wider every year in the Punjab. Our executive Officers, partly from increase of work, and partly either from want of inclination, or of not understanding the necessity and advantage of friendly intercourse with the people, see less and know less of them than formerly, and they know less of us and misunderstand us and our motives and acts. We needed the stimulus which the observations of Lord Cranborne and Sir Stafford Northcote are calculated to give. The discussions in the Council of the Secretary of State for India regarding the Mysore succession, and the debate which followed in the House of Commons, will not be without good effect if they arouse the Government and all its European Officers to the necessity of greater intercourse with, and knowledge of, and sympathy towards, our Native subjects.

The following words of Sir John Malcolm express so exactly my views of our duty towards the people of this country that I cannot do better than quote them:—"The people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have amends made them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters; and this can only be done by the combined efforts of every individual employed in a station of trust and responsibility, to render popular a Government which, though not national, has its foundations laid deep in the principles of toleration, justice, and wisdom."

From the HON'BLE SIR D. F. MACLEOD, to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—(Dated Murrie, 5th September 1867).

With reference to your confidential letter of the 1st July, which I have been longer in replying to than I could have wished, I annex an abstract showing approximately the number of persons who have emigrated from British territory to Native States during the last ten years, and *vice versâ*, as such a document affords perhaps the most tangible evidence obtainable in the form of statistics to indicate the amount of estimation in which our rule is held by the people of this country as compared with that of Native States around us. The letters and documents from which the data comprised in this abstract have been taken I do not think it necessary to send, as they contain in fact nothing whatever of real importance which is not more clearly exhibited in the accompanying Tabular Statement.

From this document it appears that the number of persons who have immigrated into the Punjab from adjoining States is five times greater than that of those who have emigrated. While a large proportion of the latter consists of those who have found it necessary or expedient to abandon British territory, in consequence of the part taken by them in the events of 1857-58, and of persons belonging to trades, such as those of jewellers, silk-weavers, armourers, gunpowder-makers, pyrotechnist, &c., for which there is a greater demand at Native Courts than in British territory, much reliance cannot perhaps be placed in the correctness of these returns, and the movements of the higher classes are probably hardly shown in them at all. But there can be no doubt whatever that those who have sought British rule are vastly more numerous than those who have abandoned it, while it may be added with truth that the coercive measures adopted in some Native States towards intending emigrants renders it oftentimes very difficult for these to carry out their wishes.

Another criterion by which some opinion may be formed on the subject is derived from the feeling evinced by populations who have been transferred from British to Native rule in consequence of alienations of territory. One of the tracts so circumstanced is the tâlooka or district of Kôt Kapûra, made over to the Rajah of Farîd Kôt. From this tract the stream of petitions to our authorities, attributing oppression to the Rajah, has been incessant, although no action has ever been taken on them by those officers except in the way of friendly advice. An abstract in English of the purport of some of these petitions accompanies. Portions of territory, more or less considerable, have, in like manner, from time to time, been made over to the Rajah of Bikaneer and other chiefs; and in few, if any, of these instances have the people thus transferred failed to evince dissatisfaction, though only by verbal representations, or by anonymous petitions, of which no record has been retained, not daring to make known their complaints, as the subjects of the more pliant Rajah of Farîd Kôt have done.

On the other hand, where territory under Native rule has been transferred to us, I have never heard of any symptoms of discontent or dissatisfaction having been evinced by the people, save such mortification as may have been shown by the military classes and retainers of courts, where territory has been acquired by conquest. On the

contrary, I believe that the feeling evinced by the bulk of the population, on the first assumption of their territory by the British Government, has in every instance been one of satisfaction. And I do not think that any one who really knows India will attempt to deny that the security, both in person and property, the freedom from violence or oppressions of every kind, the stability of established order, the encouragements to trade and progress, and facilities for accumulation and utilization of capital afforded under British rule, are infinitely preferred by the bulk of the people to the comparative lawlessness existing in the Native States by whom we are surrounded.

The rule of the Sikhs has always been, as a rule, proverbially grasping; and this character remains impressed on the neighbouring government of Cashmere, of which the founder was an officer of the Sikh Government. Discontent is, without doubt, very general throughout that country; and although the difficulties in the way of leaving it are very great, many have succeeded on doing so, and many more would do so had they the power, though it is stated by the Deputy Commissioner of Sealkote that the proportion of the produce left to the cultivator in Cashmere is greater than under us—a statement which I find it difficult to believe correct. The principal Cis-Sutlej Chiefs and the Rajah of Kapurtulla have made considerable progress of late years towards the adoption of more enlightened principles of government; but still it may well be doubted whether their subjects would deliberately prefer their rule, if transfer to the British were offered them.

The only other considerable States adjoining the Punjab, setting aside the Affghans and Bilôchs, are those of Rajpootana and that of Bhawulpore. In the latter such was the state of anarchy which had been reached when the late Nawab died (as is generally believed by violence) that, at the earnest solicitation of the ministers themselves, our Government deemed it necessary last year to assume charge of the State during the minority of his successor; since which period large numbers who had emigrated into British territory to avoid the tyranny of the Nawab have returned to their homes, while immigrants have also been received from other adjoining territories. In regard to the States of Rajpootana, others are more competent than I am to express an opinion; but our subjects have certainly evinced no preference for their rule.

The frontier tribes of Affghanistan and Bilôchistan, and the petty Hill Chieftains of the Sub-Himalayan ranges alone remain. Of the former it is probably needless to make mention here, as the state of things amongst them is opposed to all ideas of civilization; but the latter are perhaps the portions of Native territory adjoining us, which are, on the whole, most contented: both chiefs and people being comparatively simple and mild, and the feeling of clanship and devotion to their chief being very strong amongst these hill tribes. Even there, however, there are exceptions to this spirit, and there can be no doubt, at all events, that the hill races, under the rule of Puttiala, would hail with joy a transfer to that of the British.

While, however, fully admitting all the above, I deem it right to remark, as I have been required to offer any statements on the subject which my experience may enable me to furnish, that these results are

attributable to the more or less arbitrary and uncertain character of the Native Governments we see around us; that the very presence of the British Power relieves these from many of the restraints which existed when they and their subjects were left entirely to themselves, thus rendering some of them more oppressive and indifferent to their people's welfare than they might otherwise have been; and that if the comparison were made with really well governed Native States, and such I believe are to be found, the comparison might not, in the estimation of the people, be altogether in favor of the British Government, save in so far as the continuance of just rule in a Native State where there are no constitutional guarantees must ever be dependent on the character of the chief, and therefore wanting the stability of British rule.

Such being my impressions, it will be readily understood that, if the remarks which have elicited this discussion were intended, as I understand them to have been intended, to caution Englishmen against the belief that the principles of administration which are most congenial to them must necessarily be so to the populations who have here been committed to our charge, then I consider those remarks to have been appropriate and wise; and if they should lead us to pause and consider what portions of our policy are least appreciated or most distasteful, and whether, and in what manner, these can be advantageously modified, then their enunciation will, I believe, prove to have been eminently beneficial.

The second paragraph of your letter mentions some of the causes calculated to render our rule unpopular with the people of India, and in the tenor of that paragraph generally I quite concur. While, however, I fully admit that the causes of our unpopularity are mainly the result of our being foreigners and aliens to the people, yet I do not consider that this unpopularity is the necessary result of that fact, but that it springs from the policy and demeanour which our foreign training and proclivities, and our want of familiar acquaintance with them, lead us to adopt. And this is a distinction which it appears to me very important to bear in mind, as, if it be accepted, there will then be much more hope for the future, than if we allow ourselves to settle down in the conviction that the two races can never be otherwise than antagonistic. Where an Englishman has shown a warm and rational sympathy with the people, they invariably respond in a manner which is unmistakeable regarding him with feelings nearly akin to affection: and in the case of the Government, the same result would, I feel assured, follow from the same cause; for the people already fully appreciate and admire its love of justice, its honesty of purpose, and its stability, and would, I believe, be quite prepared to accord to it their devoted loyalty, if they could perceive in its principles of action that spirit of sympathy which it is easy to invoke, but very difficult to describe. The more, in short, we study the people, consult their wishes and feelings, and take them into our confidence, the more shall we soften or remove that alienation which difference of race at present begets.

Having thought it right to say thus much, it will be well, perhaps, if I instance a few of the more prominent points in respect to which I believe the people to consider that we have evinced a want of sympathy with them.

Under oriental rule, from scriptural times until now, the Government has ever been regarded, not only as the fountain of honor and dignity, but as the source from whence bounties and privileges were largely to be obtained. This position our Government has in a great measure virtually abnegated, and although of late years it has somewhat relaxed in this respect, its action in so doing is condemned by many of our countrymen. The feeling of the oriental in this matter, and generally in regard to the relations between superiors and inferiors, differs greatly from that of the Englishman, in so much that service on small pay, with the prospect of frequent presents, is the usage of the country, and preferred by all parties, while to an Englishman it would be intolerable. Grants of land and allowances under Native rules, however solemnly declared to be perpetual, were always, except in the case of religious endowments, practically considered as resumable at pleasure, and withdrawn almost as freely as they were in turn bestowed —a state of things which, from its very uncertainty and the excitement attending it, appears to have a charm for the oriental.

Such predilections we certainly have not indulged, and there is hardly any point on which the Natives have more frequently animadverted in their conversations with me than upon this, that our Government has ceased to secure the attachment of influential men by conferring grants and largesses. A few years ago, while riding out at Lahore, I entered into conversation with two respectably dressed Sikhs who were walking on the side of the road. One of them in particular appeared depressed and morose, and on my asking him the cause of this, he said, with great bitterness, "under your government there are no rewards." The incident was a trifling one, but owing to the man's demeanour, it made a great impression on me, and has often made me feel increased regret when cases have come before me in which "Zymindar Inams," or grants made by former rulers to leading men in each tract of country, as a sort of retaining fee, have been resumed under us. The abstract sentiment, that a Government has no right to bestow upon a few the income which properly belongs to the public at large, has led us, from the most conscientious motives, to enquire into the validity of even small grants with a rigour, and to resume them with a freedom, which have given much offence, especially in the case of endowments; while, when grants have once been declared valid, they have in a large majority of cases been confirmed by forms so rigid and legal as to become the subject of contention in our Courts, even as against the Government itself, so that the people cease to regard them as gifts from the Government. In thus acting, we have without doubt been guided strictly by a sense of right and justice; but the course pursued, nevertheless, conveys to an oriental mind the impression of a burlesque of liberality.

Another point on which the system pursued by us is distasteful to the better classes of the people, is the equality of all before the law, and the difficulty of obtaining redress for outraged feelings. On visiting once a Police Station in the interior of the Amritsur district, I found that a *mazhabi*, or Sikh sweeper, had been arrested on a charge of having poisoned the bullocks of a petty Sardâr, the chief proprietor of his village. I entered into conversation with this gentleman, and found him in a great distress, asserting that these bullocks

constituted almost all the property he possessed, and that they had been destroyed by his own servant merely for the value of their skins. I took him inside the station enclosure that I might hear what the prisoner had to say; but on our reaching him, the latter poured out a volley of most offensive abuse on the Sardâr, who remarked to me in great agony, "it would be better to die than to live under your Government; this could have happened under no other." Society is no doubt gradually devising means for correcting this state of things, or becoming reconciled to it; and we may look forward to the day when the love of independence will be as strong and as genuine in the breast of the Indian as of the Englishman. But in the mean time we must be prepared to incur odium on this point, as it is one on which we cannot well make any surrender.

An intimate acquaintance with the people might suggest numerous particulars, in which our principles and practice are in like manner distasteful to our subjects; but even if I could profess to have such acquaintance with them, it would not be necessary thus to expand these remarks; and the only other point which I will here notice is, in my opinion, by far the most important of all. I allude to our allowing the people but little, if any, real share in the management of their own social and municipal affairs, which they undoubtedly feel to be a gerat indignity and injustice, and which in very many ways subjects them to the most disagreeable consequences.

Until very recently, our stipendiary officials alone possessed any authority or discretion whatever, the people being virtually helpless as against them. And while I was attached to the North-Western Provinces, I well know that for the most part heads of villages, though charged by law with heavy responsibilities, were practically powerless to appoint even a Chowkeedar, or village watchman, save at the dictation of the Native head of the Police. In the large city of Benares, in like manner the *Phâtakbandies* or city watchmen, instead of being as formerly the servants of the municipalities and controlled by them, leagued themselves largely with the bad characters of their ward and with the Police, and set the people with defiance, so that in some cases they actually levied black mail upon the inhabitants, and it was not until the system was introduced of the Magistrate going down once a week to the Kotwali, or head City Police Station, and there discussing with the Mîr Mohallahs and other principal men of the several wards, the appointments, rewards, punishments, or removals of *Phâtakbandies*, and the affairs of their respective divisions generally, that this state of things was put an end to.

Much has been done of late years in many parts towards remedying this state of things by the appointment of Honorary Magistrates, Municipal Committees, Zaildârs, Chaudhries, &c., investing all with certain defined powers or functions, and allowing to some emoluments more or less considerable. I know of no move made by us which has been so acceptable to the people; and all that I would desire to see is, that the efforts which have been made in this direction thus far be steadily continued and extended as opportunity may permit. The matter is one surrounded with difficulties, not only in itself, but still more owing to the feelings and opinions of a large portion of our own countrymen. Such precision, correctness of practice, and soundness

of judgment, cannot be expected from the above class of functionaries, as from those of a superior and special training; and while we are strenuously endeavouring to raise our judicial and administrative systems to a standard suited to European requirements, it is mortifying to have to submit to the crudeness which are to be looked for, occasionally at all events, from such persons. Nevertheless, in order to do justice to the people in this matter, I believe it to be indispensable that we so legislate as to admit of the existence of an authorized machinery, both judicial and administrative, of an inferior order for ministering to their wants and requirements in connection with the social and other affairs of their every-day life; and while endeavouring gradually to improve this machinery to the utmost, that we be content in the mean time with such standard of merit as satisfies and suits them.

The subject is a vast one, on which it would be out of place to enlarge here. But I would remark that I consider such a course to be desirable and necessary, not only to meet the wants and wishes of the people, but to educate them as a nation. For whatever education we may give them in our schools, it will have but little national effect, or perhaps an injurious one, unless the people be at the same time trained to habits of vigorous thought and self-reliance by taking some share in their own administration. Many I know are of opinion that we shall meet all requirements by educating the higher classes, and opening to them distinguished posts in our councils and administrations. But I cannot assent to this view; and while highly approving of these very excellent and necessary measures, I nevertheless believe that until the masses be more or less trained in the manner pointed out to robust mental habits, and more or less imbued with the enlightened views of the west, which they will thus inevitably to some extent imbibe, these measures will of themselves secure but very partial results, and any Native members whom we may appoint to our councils will either be no real representatives of the people at all, or will evince a puerility and contractedness of mind which will altogether impair their usefulness.

Under former governments and under good Native governments of the present time, we shall almost everywhere find a republican spirit prevail throughout the village and municipal administrations; but under us this spirit has been virtually suppressed. Republican as the British nation is, it seems to me especially appropriate that we should endeavour to retrieve this error, and to recognize and respect that sentiment to whatever extent it may exist amongst our subjects here; and this course appears to me to be all the more incumbent on us as foreigners, having but little intimate social intercourse with them on the ground that we shall thus afford them an opportunity of indicating their wishes and their opinions to an extent not practicable in any other legitimate and constitutional method, as well as enable them to some extent to carry out their views under our control and guidance.

How far it may be possible hereafter, or be deemed expedient, to act on these views the progress of events alone can show; but the germ exists, which is undoubtedly capable of expanding into a goodly tree, and it requires, I believe, only encouragement from Government to ensure hearty co-operation on the part of most of its own officers, together with the grateful support and appreciation of all classes of the people themselves.

*Abstract showing approximate Number of Emigrants from Native States to British Territory, and vice versâ, during the last ten years.*

| Districts. | Emigration. | | | Immigration | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Emigrants to Native States. | Class. | Cause alleged. | Number of Immigrants from Native States. | Class. | Cause alleged. |
| Delhi ... ... ... | A large number (to Patiala, Gwalior, Ulwar, and Tonk). | Traders, artizans, and munsb is (chiefly adherents of rebels). | The mutiny ... ... | Inconsiderable | | |
| Goorgaon. | | | | | | |
| Kurnaul ... .. . | Very few ... .. | .. . ... .. ... | .. ... ... ... | 500 (from Patiala and Jheend). | Agriculturists ... ... | Impoverishment and defective revenue administration. |
| Hissar ... ... ... | 1,079 (to Patiala, Jheend, and Rajpootana). | Agriculturists ... ... | The mutiny and the famine of 1860-61. | 2,219 (from Patiala, Jheend, Malairkotla, and Rajpootana). | Non-agricultural chiefly | Over-taxation and general oppression. |
| Rohtuck. | | | | | | |
| Sirsa .. ... .. | 234 (to Bikaneer) .. | Agriculturists ... | Former residents of the State. | 14,225 (from Bikaneer, Patiala, Bhawulpore, and Faridkote) | Agricultural chiefly ... | Exactions of Native rulers |
| Umballa ... ... ... | 1,553 (to Patiala and Nahun). | Two-thirds agriculturists<br>One-sixth labourers ..<br>One-sixth shop-keepers ... | Inducements offered to settle on waste lands | 733 (chiefly Patiala) . | Chiefly agriculturists and labourers | |
| Loodhiana ... ... | 500 ... ... ... | Cashmere weavers ... ... | Invited to go to Jheend. but most have returned. | Few. | | |
| Simla. | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jullundur ... ... | 150 (to Kapurthalla) ... | Agriculturists and sweepers | Prospects of obtaining land. | | | |
| Hoshyarpore ... ... | No emigration, but some 250 to 300 residents are in service in Native States. | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... .. | Some 450 residents of Native States in service in this district. | | |
| Kangra ... ... ... | None ... ... .. | ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | 100 families, about 500 persons (from the Hill States). | Agriculturists and one or two bankers. | The system of forced labour, and the exactions of Kardars. |
| Amritsur... ... ... | 1,000 (but of these 400 have returned). | Chiefly weavers ... ... | Inducements held out by the Rajah of Jheend. | 3,000 (chiefly Cashmeries) | Weavers, tailors, and artizans. | Superior wages obtainable in British territory. |
| Sealkote ... ... ... | 40 (to Jammú) ... ... | Agriculturists ... ... | Having relatives in Jammú and prospects of obtaining land on more favorable terms | 200 (from Jammú) .. ... | Cultivators ... ... | Poverty and the forced labour system. |
| Goordaspore ... ... | 10 families equal to 50 persons (to Jammú and Chumba). | Agriculturists ... ... | Invitation of relatives | 200 families (equal 1,000 souls). | Agriculturists ... ... | Exactions and oppression of Jammú authorities. |
| Lahore ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... .. | 1,000 from Cashmere ... .. | Cashmere labourers and a few traders and weavers. | |
| Ferozepore ... ... | Very few ... ... | ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | Considerable number (say 1,000) from the Sikh States. | Not stated ... ... | "Difference in revenue rates and system and greater security for persons and property in British territory." |
| Goojranwala ... ... | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... .. | ... ... ... ... | Few. | | |

*Abstract showing approximate Number of Emigrants from Native States to British Territory, &c., &c.,*—continued.

| Districts. | Emigration. | | | Immigration. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Emigrants to Native States. | Class. | Cause alleged | Number of Immigrants from Native States. | Class. | Cause alleged. |
| Mooltan ... ... ... | A few (to Bhawulpore) | Bankers and traders (many have returned). | Facilities of trade ... | Considerable numbers (say 1,000). | Agriculturists ... ... | To avoid the oppression of the Bhawulpore officials. |
| Montgomery ... ... | 300 (into Bhawulpore and Bikaneer) | Agriculturists ... ... | Drought and failure of irrigation canals. | 200 (from ditto) ... | Agriculturists. | |
| Mozuffergurh. | | | | | | |
| Jhung. | | | | | | |
| Dera Ismael Khan ... | 300 (to Bhawulpore) ... | Pathans ... ... ... | To take service in the army. | A few merchants from Jódhpore, &c. | | |
| Dera Ghazi Khan. | | | | | | |
| Bannú ... ... ... | ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | A few from Cabul, Candahar, &c | ... ... | To escape the tyranny of the Native rulers. |
| Rawul Pindee ... ... | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... | 900 ... ... ... ... | Chiefly tailors from Cashmere, and Afghans. | Prospects of better livelihood. |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Guzerat ... ... ... | 150 (to Jammú) . | ... ... ... . | Chiefly fugitives from justice. | 300 (from Cashmere) ... | Artizans and weavers . | To escape exactions |
| Jhelum. | | | | | | |
| Shahpore, | | | | | | |
| eshawur. | | | | | | |
| Hazara. | | | | | | |
| Kohat ... ... .. | ... ... ... ... | ... ... ... ... .. | ... ... ... ... | 162 families equal to 810 persons | Independent tribes. | |
| TOTAL ... | 5,336 | ... ... . ... ... | . . . . .. | 27,297 | | |

(Signed) T. H. THORNTON,
*Secretary to Government, Punjab.*

*Complaints against Rajah of Faridkote.*

Samundar Singh, Lumbardar of Kôt Kapura. Dated 23rd April 1852.

The Rajah has ruined his subjects by quartering troops on them. Forcibly took away a horse from one Chetan Singh, and imprisoned the man and two of his relatives. He collects revenue without following any regular system, and falsely accuses people of offences and plunders them. Horses, camels, &c., he appropriates to his own use without paying for them.

Debia and Rúpa were punished on a charge of theft in British territory. The Rajah also imposed fines on their families, and expelled the latter from their houses.

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Charat Singh, Sher Singh, Dal Singh, and others of Taluka Kôt Kapúra. Dated 16th April 1856.

The Rajah exacts illegal cesses.

For the last nine years, from every village, he has collected 4 or 500 Rupees in excess of the proper demand. The accounts are not settled. He does not allow Lumbardarí dues; sells rights of cultivators, and appropriates the proceeds of sale himself. In every village 15 ghumáos of land are cultivated for the Rajah, and the produce goes to him. Nevertheless revenue is realized on this land also along with the village revenue; and when complaints were made to Commissioner, he imprisoned petitioners' relatives.

The following cesses are levied from each village:—

Supplies of one goat every half-year.
Ditto of coarse cloth without payment.
Ditto of ghee, according to capabilities of the village, every half-year.
Ditto of hemp.
Ditto of hides.

The produce of one kanal of gram, môth, &c., per plough:—

Supplies of fodder, one load per plough.
Ditto of tirnee tax (cash).
Ditto of milk and curds from every house in every village.
Ditto of atrafi cess (tax on artisans), camels, horses, cows, and bullock at pleasure.

*Begár* (forced labour).
A piece of long timber from every Zemindar.
Roads have to be repaired without payment.

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Manda Singh and others. Dated 3rd April 1857.

The Rajah collects excessive revenue.

Produce of two kanals is taken, and no deduction given in revenue on that account; four cart-loads of fodder annually taken from each cultivator,

One-fourth produce in the first year of newly-broken land.

The Rajah forcibly seized a bullock belonging to Dyal Singh. valued at Rs. 60.

Appropriates produce and collects revenue on land abandoned by any cultivator.

Collects (zakat) excise.
Makes us pay Chowkeedars (watchmen).
Enforces *Begár* (forced labour).

Took away Jiwan Singh's horse, value Rs. 100, without payment.

Demands nazarana for a Lumbardarship.

Has imprisoned the father of one of the petitioners, and placed guards on his house. Has turned them out of a house which they had built at Maharana at a cost of Rs. 1,300.

One of the petitioners complains that he is made to pay the whole revenue, although 600 ghumáos of his land has been taken away from him and made over to the "Bakhshi" on payment of a nazarana of Rs. 200.

Six hundred ghumáos more have been transferred to other Zemindars.

His brother, Kanh Singh, has been put in prison. Milk was demanded; but when offered to be given, it was refused, and a fine of Rs. 40 taken.

Najib Singh and others (40 men in all), and Amán Singh and others (86 men). Dated 12th September 1861.

Their villages have been over-assessed. They have been deprived of puchotra dues (5 per cent. on collections paid to heads of villages by the British Government, atrafi dues (tax on artizans), four hundred ghumáos of cultivated land. When a man dies, notwithstanding leaving heirs, his estate is confiscated.

The Rajah taxes trades in addition to collecting choongee (town duties). The whole of the proprietary rights of Mouza Bhari which belonged to us he has made over to others.

Levies a tax of 2 to Rs. 300 on every widow marrying.

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Mahatab Singh and others. 15th January 1865.

Complaint against deprivation of their rights. They complained to Commissioner, who commended them to the Vakil. But they never obtained redress.

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Kanh Singh of Kôt Kapúra. 14th January 1865.

In a case connected with a woman, he was fined by the Julundhur Court Rs. 20. In the same case the Rajah demands a fine of Rs. 40. A Sowar is appointed to realize the fine, and he is threatened expulsion from the village.

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Bútakhatu of Kôt Kapúra. 13th January 1865.

Rajah has plundered his shop, valued Rs. 40,000; fined him Rs. 800; confiscated gram, valued Rs. 1,200, and fodder valued Rs. 1,000.

Has made over his shop to complainant's brothers. Has more than once placed him in confinement: Government ordered redress. The Rajah had him beaten and demanded a razeenama.

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Karam Singh. 13th January 1865.

Assessment of village raised from Rs. 160 to Rs. 700. His father has been imprisoned.

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Kala Singh. 13th January 1865.

The Rajah has seized 26 cattle of his and 500 ghumáos of land, and 2,000 maunds of grain.

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Jeet Singh 22nd September 1865.

Complains of being deprived of his village.

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Charat Singh and Godha Singh. 22nd September 1865.

Rajah has deprived him of 30 ghumáos of land which he has given away to one Maluka on payment of Rs. 300.

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Mula Singh, Jowahir Singh, and others of Kôt Kapúra. 22nd September 1865.

Six hundred ghumáos of land were declared free of revenue, under orders of British Government. The jumma was fixed at Rs. 262-8. The Rajah makes them pay, for the last twenty years, Rs. 412-8. They have been ruined in consequence.

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Fattah Din, of Kôt Kapúra. Dated 25th September 1865.

Had a house, valued Rs. 100, at Kôt Kapúra. The Rajah sold it to a stranger for Rs. 60.

His brother and himself were employed in the Rajah's service. The former has received nothing for the last 15 years; and the petitioner, for last seven years, on asking for salary, a fine was demanded, and petitioner's brother is in prison

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Samand Singh, of Ilaka Kôt Kapúra (and 16 other complainants). 4th December 1865.

Rajah sold petitioner's house for Rs. 150 to a stranger. On petitioner's protesting, he was fined and placed in confinement.

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Sukha Mal and others, 12 men of Ilaka Kôt Kapúra. Date not given.

Complain of over-assessment and extortions. Their beards are ordered to be shaved There are 60 men in confinement.

Joala Parshad (an official of Rajah) exercises great tyranny.

Four more petitions—three in 1865, 14th January; one in 1866. 22nd October.

Complain of the Rajah having wrongfully transferred their lands to other parties, and seized their cattle and property.

(True translation).

(Signed) T. H. THORNTON,

*Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab.*

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Note by Sir W MUIR, K. C. S. I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, on the revenue history of Pergunnah Koonch, in the Calpee District, illustrative of the comparative popularity of British and Native rule,—(Dated Simla, 22nd October 1867).

The history of Pergunnah Koonch, in Bundelcund, illustrates, I think, the kind of popularity enjoyed by British administration—a popularity among the masses in consequence of the comparative security of life and property, and the limitation of the demands of Government.

The Koonch Pergunnah lies about 40 miles to the west of Calpee, and, until the annexation of Jaloun, was entirely cut off by a long distance from our other possessions. It was encircled for the most part by Jaloun, and also by tracts of the Gwalior, Duttia, and Sumptur States.

The difficulty of administering a tract of 150 square miles thus isolated, of defending it from marauding inroad, and of securing its internal economy, was great. It was ordinarily visited by an European Officer only in the cold season; and for the rest of the year was managed by Native officials. Nevertheless, from its cession in 1806 by the Mahrattas, Koonch prospered. It became a proverb in the North-West. It was called the garden of Bundelcund. In approaching, you could almost tell the boundaries of the pergunnah by the green border of rich tillage. Its chief town was the entrepôt of commerce for all the country adjacent. The village bankers became rich, offering, indeed, a prize that sometimes proved too tempting to the robbers and dacoits of neighbouring villages. The agriculturists were substantial, the fields literally an unbroken sheet of cultivation.

When deputed, in 1840, to revise the Revenue Settlement, I found that its assessment was pitched higher than that of any district in the North-Western Provinces. The average rate on the culturable area (including fallow) was Rs. 2-12-6 (above 5 shillings and 6 pence) per acre, and on each acre under cultivation above Rs. 3. This was considerably above the rates even of Cawnpore, though highly irrigated; and in Koonch there is, from the nature of the country, little or no irrigation.

But the pergunnah was so prosperous, it had paid its revenue with such punctuality, and had recovered so rapidly from the effects of successive famines still felt elsewhere, that it seemed difficult to believe that the demand was too high. Looking mainly to the heavy rate, I diminished the assessment by about 10 per cent., remitting some £2,000 out of a previous demand of £ 20,000. But I had some difficulty in justifying the reduction to my superiors, and even to my own mind.

Nevertheless I had judged wrongly. I had attributed the prosperity of Koonch solely to its marvellously fertile soil. I had altogether omitted the advantage of British rule, which it was that, in the midst of oppression and misrule, had made the pergunnah like an oasis of the desert. Conversing afterwards with Mr. Thomason, he told me that he had never doubted the propriety of my having allowed a reduction. His only doubt had been whether I had not still left the demand far too high; and he foresaw that if ever the surrounding country came under our administration, the Revenue Settlement would be put to a severe test; for Koonch would no longer possess its special privilege.

That time came. Jaloun, which encircled three-fourths of the pergunnah, became British; decaying villages revived all around; wastes came under the plough; there was a great demand for labour all over Jaloun; Koonch had lost its pre-eminence; ultivators were tempted away by lower terms; rent fell rapidly; the Zemindars broke down; the revenues could not be collected; villages were offered in farm or sale, but no one would take them.

What had been foreseen by the keen eye of Mr. Thomason had come to pass. It was the prosperity and advantage of British rule, in the midst of the misgovernment and insecurity of Native States, which had attracted to Koonch capital and labour, and had made that a light revenue which, without those benefits, became oppressively heavy.

A few years after the annexation of Jaloun, a general reduction of the revenue of Koonch was forced upon us.

The popularity of our administration among the agricultural and moneyed classes is strikingly illustrated by the history of Koonch.

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Note by C. B. THORNHILL, ESQ., Senior Member, Sudder Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces,—(Dated Allahabad, 9th November 1867).

During the few years antecedent to the assumption of the administration of the Oudh Province by the British Government there was a ceaseless emigration from the territory of the King of Oudh to adjacent British districts.

Between the years 1840 and 1848 I was in the Shahjehanpore district, and can therefore speak from personal knowledge that not only individuals, but whole villages, abandoned their lands in Oudh and settled in Shahjehanpore, chiefly in the northern pergunnahs where much waste land existed.

So soon, however, as our rule was fairly established in Oudh, these emigrants commenced returning to their own homes, and I understand that comparatively very few remain as permanent settlers.

The same occurred in Goruckpore, where also large tracts of culturable waste offered similar inducement to settlers.

Perhaps it might be thought that Oudh was an exception to the normal Native rule, and that its maladministration cannot be taken as a fair type of average Native governments. It may possibly have presented the defects of the Native system in their most exaggerated form, but those defects are inherent in that system; and though the

personal disposition or character of an individual ruler may neutralize them for a time, the result can never be permanent; and the country which, under the father, may have enjoyed peace and prosperity is frequently plunged into the depths of anarchy on the accession of an unworthy son.

The chief point upon which Natives lay stress in comparing countries under British rule with those governed by Native rulers is the security of life and property under the former, and the stability of its conditions; while in the latter no one can calculate upon the probable permanence of anything which most nearly affects his personal welfare and interests.

It would not be difficult to supply instances of the great repugnance which Natives entertain to a transfer to foreign rule after having lived under that of the British Government. At this moment the rectification of the boundary of the Allahabad district with that of Rewah is impeded by the remonstrance of the villagers who, in the contemplated arrangement, would pass over to Rewah.

It is, I believe, also on record that the pergunnah of Goverdhun, which formerly belonged to Bhurtpoor, and which Rajah Bulwunt Singh was very anxious to have re-attached to his dominions, expressed a strong objection to being deprived of the protection of the British Government, the value of which they so highly appreciated that they considered it cheaply purchased by the payment of a higher land revenue than was demanded from them by the Bhurtpoor Rajah.

The feeling of security enjoyed in British territory is proved by the large number of wealthy men who have made their homes under its shelter.

While Oudh was under the king, all the bankers of Lucknow had branch agencies in the North-Western Provinces at which the bulk of their wealth was kept, nor could the millionaire Seth Luchmee Chund of Jeypoor ever be induced to abandon Muttra and return to his native city.

But while the Natives of Hindoostan fully appreciate the superiority of British rule in all essentials, their freedom and security of person and property, the moderation and limitation of its demands upon their resources, their personal immunity from the tyranny and caprices of an irresponsible autocrat, and the assurance of peace which is conferred by the strength of the Government, they allow themselves to dwell upon and magnify some features in our system which are at variance with the usages and predilections of orientals.

Progress, which to European ideas is essential to good government, is hateful to an Asiatic, whose attachment to traditionary customs, combined with constitutional inertness, renders the idea of any change most distasteful, and even when the resulting benefit cannot be questioned, it is held to be too dearly purchased at the sacrifice of the much-loved stagnation.

The impartiality with which the law is administered is another source of vexation among a people whose veneration for old families and high

birth is excessive, and who cannot appreciate the equity of applying the same rule to high and low, and of making the noble amenable to the same tribunal with the man of low birth.

This irritation has been increased by the encouragement and advancement given to those who profited by the means of education afforded in the Government schools and colleges. These institutions were for a long time looked upon as having a democratic tendency to confound all social distinctions, and the more respectable families refused to permit their children to learn in the same class with their inferiors; consequently for a time education in the branches qualifying for public service was monopolized by the lower orders, and many posts of influence which used to be conferred on the upper classes came to be occupied by those who had no claim to social position.

It may be hoped that much of the hostility to the Government schools has died out, and that the higher grades of the Government service will again be filled by men not only of birth but of education; it was hardly, however, in human nature to be free from the prejudices with which mixed schools were regarded, or to contemplate with satisfaction the elevation of the lower orders to official positions which enabled them to take precedence of, and exact deference from, the local gentry, who could tolerate no social intercourse with them.

Setting aside, then, the almost inevitable discrepancy between the viwes of Europeans and Asiatics, the antagonism of irreconcileable religions, and to the mortification of alien domination, there seems no deficiency of unequivocal proof of the estimation in which the British rule is held by the Natives of India, and I believe that there are few independent States in which the mass of the people would not hail their incorporation with British territory as the greatest boon. Of course the aristocracy who now enjoy some of the pleasures and profits of authority would be irreconcileably opposed to a change which would deprive them of the privileges of their order, but, as a general rule, landholders, the mercantile community, and the population at large, whether in Native States, or in the territory already held by the British Crown, greatly prefer the security and reliability of our rule to the possible contingencies inseparable from that of one of their own nation.

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